

**AN EXPLORATION OF INTERGENERATIONAL EXCHANGES BETWEEN
GRANDPARENTS AND THEIR OLDER GRANDCHILDREN**

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ABSTRACT

Changes within the family unit have resulted in changes in interactions between grandparents and older grandchildren. Existing research indicates that these relationships can result in positive outcomes. A relevant task for researchers is to continue to explore these intergenerational relationships.

This qualitative phenomenological study explores the question: What functional patterns exist when grandparents interact with older grandchildren? Six grandparent-older grandchild pairs agreed to be involved.

Kennedy's (1992) formulation of grandparent-older grandchild activity clusters was reviewed and revised. Activities were clustered related to socialization, companionship, support, entertainment, and education.

Findings unique to this study indicate that shared activities were mutually chosen with consideration of activity tolerance, and were consistently evaluated as enjoyable. Partners were chosen because of a comfortable relationship established through frequent past and present interactions, and not because of family lineage preferences. Both grandparents and older grandchildren stated a desire to have a generation peer share activities with them.

Exploration of dimension concepts for the "McMaster Model of Family Functioning" indicated that these relationships have potential to contribute to healthy family functioning.

The implications for practice, theory development and further research are suggested.

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CHAPTER ONE: THE PROBLEM

Introduction

This study explores what functional patterns exist when grandparents and older grandchildren interact.

In post modern society, the traditional family unit is changing. There is a "verticalization" of the family with more living generations, and fewer members in the younger age cohorts than ever before. There is also a greater variety of family types as a result of divorce, single parents, and same sex parents (Bengtson & Robertson, 1985; Hagestad, 1987).

These changes in the family unit have resulted in modification of the grandparent-grandchild relationship. Statistics Canada (1990) indicates that one in five Canadians, fifteen and older, never visit grandparents and one in four never phone or write. Crites (1989) describes how children are less likely than ever before to live near their grandparents.

Despite these social realities, several researchers have explored the grandparent-grandchild relationship and have cited benefits of bringing the generations together (Baranowski, 1982; Bengtson & Robertson, 1985; Hagestad, 1987; Kennedy, 1990; Kivnick, 1982; Kornhaber & Woodward, 1981). Very few, however, have discussed grandparent-older grandchild relationships, and to date, there has not been qualitative exploration of what happens when these two generations spend time together.

Background of the Problem

Stearns (1989) describes how, historically, seniors of the pre-industrial era frequently lived in the same residence as their grandchildren and how, later during the industrial era, younger generations worked outside the home while grandparents assumed child care duties.

However, as society moved through modern times and into the post modern nineties, children were separated from grandparents by divorce, distance, death, or even by choice of the grandparent (O'Brien, 1990).

This distancing between generations has been further complicated by stereotyping. Kingson (1989) points out that many adhere to a generational inequity theory which implies that the elderly population utilizes more than their fair share of social services which are also needed by younger generations. This theory, as well as the fact that society is aging and seniors are outnumbering youth, has increased the tensions between generations (Cohon, 1989; Hyde & Gibbs, 1993; Kingson, 1989).

Children, as they mature into adolescence and young adulthood, also become subjected to stereotyping. It is assumed that as a population, they are loud, rude, socially rebellious, awkward, moody, and generally not interested in interacting with anyone outside of their peer group (Canadian Council on Social Development, 1990; Crites, 1989; Kaplan, 1993; Kingson, 1989).

In an attempt to address the above mentioned social phenomena,

theorists have begun to study the benefits of connecting the generations. This has become known as the intergenerational movement and has demonstrated, through research, the benefits of interdependence between generations, especially between the youth and the elderly (Adelmen, 1988; Kaplan, 1993; McMahon, 1987; Shipman, 1986; Thompson, 1988; Ventura-Merkel, 1988). This movement has not, however, been able to consistently change negative attitudes towards an aging population through intergenerational contact (Baggett, 1981; Lyons, Newman, & Vasudev, 1985; Seedfeldt, 1987; Shahariw-Kuehne, 1988). There is also a consistent problem with getting adequate participation for intergenerational activities (Wood Tierce & Seelbach, 1987).

Studies done to date on familial intergenerational exchanges have revealed that grandchildren can gain valuable insight into their family history, culture, and roots and grandparents can gain the affection and joy of experiencing their descendants grow into adults (Baranowski, 1984; Hyde & Gibbs, 1993; Kennedy, 1990).

Despite current research data indicating positive outcomes from grandparent-grandchild relationships, there are very few social and familial initiatives to encourage them. There also continues to be limited interaction between grandparents and older grandchildren. Only sixteen percent of Canadians, fifteen and older, interact with their grandparents at least once a week (Statistics Canada, 1990).

Statement of the Problem Situation

The problem in this study involves the challenge of exploring intergenerational relationships between grandparents and older grandchildren which need to be explored in order to gain insight into functional patterns that are deemed to be beneficial.

Purpose of the Study

A primary purpose of this study is to explore the grandparent-older grandchild relationship and to question how this relationship affects family functioning.

A secondary purpose of this study is to explore the interactions that occur between grandparents and older grandchildren to determine whether or not the outcomes of these relationships support or discourage the development of social programs which inspire familial intergenerational exchanges.

Questions to be Answered

In this study, the main research question to be addressed is: What functional patterns exist when grandparents interact with their older grandchildren ?

Other related questions which evolved as the study was being carried out include:

1. What do grandparents and older grandchildren choose to do together?
2. How was the interactive network formed and by whom?
3. How does the intergenerational exchange between grandparents and older grandchildren affect family functioning?
4. Do grandparents and older grandchildren support the idea of having social programs in their communities which encourage intergenerational activities?

Rationale

This research was carried out because there is a need for insight into the grandparent-older grandchild relationship to determine whether or not this intergenerational exchange could change attitudes and decrease stereotyping. This insight may facilitate future development of intergenerational activities and programs.

Importance of the Study

This study is important because there is very little research that has been done on the grandparent-older grandchild relationship and to date,

researchers have not qualitatively explored what functional patterns are in place when these two populations interact.

Second, the data from this research may be helpful to plan for and increase participation in any pilot projects which attempt to promote the intergenerational endeavour.

Third, with the variety of family units existing in today's society, it would be helpful to know how encouragement of grandparent-older grandchild relationships contribute to family functioning.

Definition of Terms

Terms or phrases that are used in describing this study are clarified and defined as follows:

Family is considered to be a social unit or system consisting of two or more interdependent persons that remain united over time and mediate individual needs with the demands of a larger society. The family members who are of particular interest for this study are grandparents and older grandchildren who are between the ages of twelve and twenty-five.

Family functioning is the behaviour, action or operation of the family unit which impacts on the well being of its members. Epstein, Bishop, and Baldwin (1982) suggest that the dimension concepts of communication, problem solving, role playing, affective involvement, and behaviour control all contribute

to family functioning. The complex transactional patterns of family members in relation to these dimension concepts determine effective or ineffective family functioning. This study will focus on the grandparent and older grandchild relationship and how it affects family functioning.

Generational inequity theory suggests that one age grouping discriminately utilizes more resources than another age grouping. The elderly, for example, are viewed by some of the youth today as inappropriately demanding a lot of social services which they (the youth) feel should be directed towards themselves. It is adherence to this generational inequity theory that increases the tensions between generations and potentiates inappropriate stereotyping (Hyde and Gibbs, 1993).

Grandparents are individuals whose children have had children. They are the second line of parentage or the parents of one's father or mother. Although it is recognized that there are foster grandparents, the grandparents who participated in this research are connected to the family through paternal or maternal lineage.

Interact means to act reciprocally on each other. When exploring how grandparents and older grandchildren interact, the researcher investigates how these two people influence each other.

Intergenerational signifies between generations or between one group of people in a certain age range and another group of a different age range.

Intergenerational movement is a sociological term referring to the collective actions which are designed to promote interaction between different age groups. This movement evolved in the early 1970s in an attempt to lessen tensions between the elderly and youth and has continued through to today.

Industrial era was a distinct period of time during which there was a rapid development of industry (trade and manufacturing). In Canada, this era began in the nineteenth century following the farming era.

Interdependence theory is a sociological conjecture that claims mutual dependence and/or a reciprocal support. This theory evolved in the early 1980s at the same time as the beginning of the intergenerational movement in order to attempt to counteract the effects of the generational inequity theory. It claims that generations can work together for mutual dependence and support and effective sharing of available resources.

Modern society is a community in which individuals are hard working, disciplined and responsible; are willing to deter personal gains for those of the larger population; and are searching in good faith for the truth (Vaillancourt Rosenau & Bredemeier, 1993). This society is one of recent times, and sociologists maintain that we are just passing out of it and moving into a post modern society.

Older grandchildren are the offspring from a second line of parentage. For this research, they were defined as being between the ages of twelve and twenty-five.

Post modern society is a community in which individuals are inclined to hold a "be yourself" disposition, are spontaneous, want immediate reward and self-satisfaction, and cannot be held responsible because things just happen (Vaillancourt Rosenau & Bredeneier, 1993). This is the society in which we are living today. It is important to know the nature of the post modern individual in order to initiate appropriate social and family programs.

Seniors are mature individuals belonging to older age cohorts, who are referred to as elderly and are sixty-five years of age and older. The grandparent participants in this study are considered to be seniors.

Verticalization of the family is a sociological term which refers to the stretching up or the narrowing and lengthening of the family unit. In the past it had few living generations and lots of children. Today, with verticalization, there are several living generations and fewer children.

Youth are individuals who belong to the younger age cohorts. In this study, the terms youth and older grandchildren both refer to individuals between the ages of twelve and twenty-five.

Scope and Delimitations of the Study

This research did not look at grandparent-grandchild relationships in general but rather looked only at relationships between older grandchildren and their grandparent(s). The older grandchildren were between the ages of twelve

and twenty-five. No age limitations were placed on the grandparent population. Partner participants were asked to be related through maternal or paternal lineage, and no foster grandparents or grandchildren were accepted into the study.

No delimitations were made in relation to sex, marital status, socioeconomic status, religion, ethnicity, or level of education.

Outline of the Remainder of the Document

Chapter Two of this document reviews the existing literature exploring grandparent-grandchild relationships, specifically those between grandparents and older grandchildren and intergenerational activities existing in society. It also clarifies the need for further study in this area and justifies the research questions.

Chapter Three explains the research approach taken and the design of this study. A brief explanation of the pilot study will be given with description as to how it contributed to the subsequent modifications of the research. The participant selection process, data collection descriptions, and data processing and analysis procedures will be written up here in detail.

Chapter Four will present the findings of this exploratory study. The research questions will be addressed individually and results will be presented in chart format for initial questions and in descriptive qualitative format with

appropriate second level analysis for remaining questions.

Chapter Five will summarize the document, connect the findings to previous studies, suggest implications for practice and theory development and make recommendations for future research projects.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

Organization of the Present Chapter

This chapter reviews pertinent literature to clarify the historical background leading to this research. It summarizes the literature about intergenerational relationships between grandparents and older grandchildren; the shared activities in which they are involved; the interactive networks among grandparents and older grandchildren and how they are formed; the effect this relationship has on family functioning; and the social programs which encourage intergenerational relationships. Additional information was obtained from personal interactions with individual experts and organizations specialized in intergenerational exchanges.

Historical Background

In an attempt to determine the current status of intergenerational exchanges between grandparents and older grandchildren, a literature search was done. This search began by looking at intergenerational activities in society and progressed to exploring intergenerational activities between grandparents and grandchildren and finally sought out literature specifically related to the grandparent-older grandchild relationship.

In addition, interviews were held with professionals in the field in order to

raise awareness of existing intergenerational programs in Ontario.

Grandparent-Grandchild Intergenerational Exchanges

The changes in the family, recently, have led to an alteration in the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren.

Baranowski (1982) gave three reasons why the relationship between grandparents and adolescents might be hindered. He refers to Shanas (1980) who mentions that the majority of teenagers are separated geographically from their grandparents; and to Kornhaber and Woodward (1981) who describe an unwritten social contract which implies that grandparents have neither a right nor an obligation to take an active part in the lives of their grandchildren. He also refers to Atchley (1980) who suggests that adolescents rely heavily on their peers as confidants and role models and have little room for grandparents in their lives.

Baranowski (1982) also provides reasons for support of the grandparent-adolescent relationship. The verticalization of the family, and the improved health status of the elderly, means that more children will have living grandparents (Shanas, 1980). As well, closer ties are now possible between the grandparents and their teenage grandchildren because the relationship is less autocratic than it has been during previous social era.

When interaction does occur between grandparents and adolescents,

Baranowski states that common patterns evolve. First, parents tend to serve as a bridge between grandparents and grandchildren (Gilford & Black, 1972); second, maternal grandparents tend to be closer than paternal grandparents (Hoffman, 1979); third, involvement increases with older adolescence (Marcoen, 1979); and fourth, the relationship is reciprocal and both parties gain from the involvement (Kahana & Kahana, 1971; Streltzer, 1979) .

Baranowski (1982) concludes by suggesting how grandparents can impact on adolescents' development. They can assist in the areas of identity development (Mead, 1974; Robertson, 1976); relations with parents (Konopka, 1976; Kornhaber & Woodward, 1981; Streltzer, 1979; Troll, 1980); and with attitudes toward aging and the aged (Guptill, 1979; Kornhaber & Woodward, 1981).

This literature provides a review of the work that has been done prior to 1982 on the grandparent-grandchild intergenerational relationship. Baranowski (1982) pointed out the need for a qualitative look at the relationship which includes the adolescent perspective.

Shared Activities of Grandparents and Older Grandchildren

There is limited existing literature on the preferred shared activities of grandparents and older grandchildren. Kennedy (1992) used a Likert scale questionnaire to explore the range of activities shared by grandparents and older grandchildren. He confirmed Bengtson's (1985) findings that they share

in a wide range of activities, and he was the first to formulate activity clusters related to sociability, companionship, helping grandparents (domestic and outdoors), community events, grandparent entertaining, and an additional groupings for writing letters and attending religious services (see Table 1).

Statistical analysis by Kennedy indicated that these activity clusters represented common sets of experiences for grandparents and young adults which would be useful to plan programs for this population.

Although Kennedy's formulation of shared activities was a beginning, he clustered the shared activities from the older grandchild perspective (i.e., Helping Grandparent - Domestic and Grandparent Entertaining). In addition, some activities such as talking on the phone seemed to be appropriate for more than one activity cluster.

Kennedy's (1992) research population did not include grandparents, and was limited to university students. This homogeneity of the grandchild population may partially explain why there was a moderate level for the mean scores when subjects were requested to indicate how likely they were to share in particular activities with grandparents. Kennedy felt that this moderate level of means resulted from blending together several grandparent-grandchild subgroups each having unique relating abilities.

One finding from this study indicated that the closer the relationship, the greater the number of shared activities.

Culturally, Kennedy supported work by Cherlin and Furstenberg (1986)

Table 1
Grandparent, Older Grandchild Activity Clusters

1. Sociability

Talking about events in each other's lives.
 Watching TV together.
 Talking together about personal concerns.
 Just being together, "messaging around", "puttering".
 Eating, spending night at grandparent's house.
 With other family members in family events.
 Grandparent providing child care.

2. Companionship

Taking walks together.
 Reading books and telling stories together.
 Learning skills from grandparent (crafts, sports).
 Sharing with grandparent in crafts and hobbies.
 Playing games together (cards, charades, puzzles).
 Sharing recreational activities (fishing, picnics).

3. Helping Grandparent - Domestic

Sharing with grandparent in cooking.
 Helping grandparent with housework.
 Shopping with grandparent for grandparent needs.
 Talking on the phone together.
 Grandchild helping to care for grandparents when ill.

4. Community events

Grandparent attending events in which grandchild is participating.
 Attending sports and other community events together.
 Taking vacations or going on trips together.
 Planning/preparing for parties, or other celebrations.

5. Grandparent entertaining

Eating out with grandparent.
 Shopping with grandparent for gifts for the grandchild.
 Taking drives in the country.

6. Helping Grandparent - Outdoors

Helping grandparent with gardening and yard work.
 Helping grandparent with business, farm, or other employment activity.

Not Clustered

Writing letters to each other.
 Attending church together.

(Kennedy, 1992, p.222)

and Burton and Bengtson (1985) in finding that black grandchildren and grandparents were more involved with activities related to exchange of service with either child care or grandparent support involved.

Family characteristics, such as being the eldest grandchild, and having younger grandparents, increased the number and variety of shared activities. Kennedy's findings about younger grandparents being more active, talking on the phone, and going on shopping trips, vacations, and other outings were previously stated by Baranowski (1990) and Cherlin and Furstenberg (1986).

Kennedy's research was a helpful start to clarify activity clusters common to the grandparent-older grandchild population, but further investigation is needed from the grandparent perspective and from a more heterogeneous grandchild population in order to provide a reliable formulation of activity clusters.

When Roberto and Stroes (1992) looked at activity participation, grandchildren were involved in more activities with their grandmothers than with their grandfathers. No significant difference was found for overall participation for grandsons and granddaughters, maternal and paternal grandmothers, and maternal and paternal grandfathers. The type of activity participated in included brief visits for conversation, family gatherings, talking over things that are important, and helping with chores.

Langer (1990) looked at activities from the perspective of what grandparents and adult grandchildren do for each other. He used a

questionnaire to survey one hundred and eighteen Jewish grandparents who had at least one adult grandchild over the age of eighteen. He did mention that this population of grandparents may have influenced the results of his study by virtue of their common religious background and living arrangements in a cooperative seniors building.

Langer found that twenty-one percent of the participants had a reciprocal relationship based on expressive exchanges (emotional and supportive activities) and forty-two percent shared a reciprocal relationship based on instrumental support (physical and financially related activities). However, a closer look at reciprocity indicated that in fact, the adult grandchild gave more expressive and instrumental support than received from the grandparent. Also, when interacting, this sample of predominately female grandchildren usually gave expressive support rather than instrumental support. Based on these findings, Langer concluded that adult grandchildren have potential to play an important role in the social support system of their grandparents but that further study with less homogeneity of the sample surveyed is necessary.

Baranowski (1984) quantitatively explored the gender differences for grandparent-adolescent activities through a questionnaire given to four hundred and five high school students.

He found that there was a statistically greater chance that female grandchildren would learn a skill from their grandparent. These findings supported work previously done by Atchley (1980) and by Troll (1980). As well,

both male and female grandchildren were found to learn skills from the grandparent of the same sex.

Baranowski (1984) did not find that there was any difference between male and female grandchildren for grandparent shared activities related to personal interactions, sharing family history, telling stories about parents, going on trips together, and giving advice.

He did not indicate that reliability and validity for his questionnaire had been established before use, and the population surveyed were from a single rural area high school, which may have influenced some of the findings related to gender specific activities. Baranowski (1984) did, however, mention the latter as a limitation when referring to traditional male, female grandparent-adolescent activities.

The Interactive network and How it is Formed

Much of the literature about the grandparent-older grandchild relationship reveals that there are factors that affect how and with whom this interactive network is formed.

Hyde and Gibbs (1993) looked closely at the grandmother-granddaughter relationship. Following structured interviews with six adult granddaughters, a sixteen-item questionnaire was designed and given to ninety-one female undergraduate students and nursing students. The questionnaire

was divided into items related to the structure of the relationships, the process, and the outcomes of the relationships. When taken together, the structure variables such as age, length of relationship, and geographical proximity, resulted in a similarity of the basic relationships between granddaughters with their maternal grandmothers and granddaughters and their paternal grandmothers.

However, when process items were considered, statistical analysis provided only partial support in favour of the maternal grandmother. The two process items which favoured interaction with the maternal grandmother were sharing activities together and spending holidays together. These results agree with those of Eisenberg (1988) and Kennedy (1992) which found that maternal grandmothers score high on shared activities which tend to foster closeness.

The outcome measures of variables such as the grandmother's influence on feeling close, feeling secure, and on the imparting of beliefs and values, gave strong support to the research hypothesis that maternal grandmothers were more influential. This finding that maternal grandmothers pass on values and beliefs was in line with findings by Kornhaber and Woodward (1981) but contradictory to the work by Cherlin and Furstenberg (1986).

Gershenson-Hodgson (1992) did a national telephone survey of two hundred and twelve adult grandchildren to clarify the nature of their relationship with their closest grandparent. She found that the majority interacted at least several times a month and forty percent had weekly contact. Using

nonparametric testing, it was shown that there is a strong relationship between physical proximity and frequency of interaction. In addition, those grandchildren who considered themselves emotionally close to grandparents as well as those grandchildren who had frequent contact with their own parents (the bridge generation) were in contact with grandparents more frequently. These findings by Gershenson-Hodgson (1992) about regular contact are similar to earlier findings by Kennedy (1990). Seventy percent of the random sample considered themselves to be close or very close to their grandparents. The nature of the contact varied from visitation (twenty-seven percent) to phone conversations (one fifth of the sample) to both equally (one quarter of the sample). There was also clear evidence that grandparents (fifty-five percent of them) initiated visits with older grandchildren and forty percent of these visits were made without the presence of the bridge generation. Sixty percent of the sample indicated that the grandparents call them on a regular basis.

Gender and lineage entered into choice of the closest grandparent. In this study, participants were more likely to choose a maternal grandmother. Gershenson-Hodgson (1992) strengthened her study by adding qualitative data to support the quantitative results of her survey. She found that physical proximity and frequency of contact were influential in deciding closeness to the grandparent. This grandparent was most frequently a maternal grandmother. Other personal characteristics such as being a good listener or spoiling the grandchild and situations such as personal crises were indicated as increasing

the closeness of the relationship.

This study indicated that despite time constraints imposed by school, jobs, families of procreation and distance, the grandparent-older grandchild relationship continues with surprising strength and warrants further study to encourage realization of its potential in society.

Roberto and Stroes (1992) also used a questionnaire to investigate the interactive networks formed with grandmothers and grandfathers by one hundred and forty-two college enrolled grandchildren. Variable measurements were taken from a Likert questionnaire and evaluated using previous work by Bengtson (1985), Robertson (1977), and Hartshorne and Manaster (1982).

They found that older grandchildren interact with grandparents on the average of once a month. These findings support the theory of Cherlin and Furstenberg (1986) which suggests that older grandchildren do not abandon their relationships with their grandparents, but rather that the relationship goes through a developmental change.

The solidarity of the relationship was noted to be greater for the grandchild-grandmother relationship than for the grandchild-grandfather relationship regardless of the gender of the grandchild, the lineage of the grandmother, or the amount of contact. Past research by Kivett (1985) and Thomas (1986) suggests that increased contact is what strengthens the relationship while other studies by Fischer (1982) and Hagestad (1985) suggest that parental linkages help to increase satisfaction with grandparent

relationships.

Roberto and Stroes (1992) admit that the preponderance of women in the sample may have influenced the importance of grandmothers but they did not suggest any limitation related to only having college students as participants. Further research to discover similarities and differences in grandchildren's relationships with grandparents was recommended.

Kennedy (1990) found in his study about role behaviours that the number of living grandparents varied with fourteen percent having a complete set of biological maternal and paternal grandparents and eight percent having no living grandparents. Geographically, forty-five percent lived in the same town as at least one grandparent, another twenty-one percent within fifty miles, and only ten percent were more than five hundred miles away. These findings correspond to earlier work by Hagestad (1987) and Troll (1983).

Grandchildren stated that they were closer to maternal grandparents than paternal grandparents and generally were closer to grandmothers (thirty-six percent) than grandfathers (nineteen percent). Female grandchildren were more apt than male grandchildren to express close relationships with grandparents which is consistent with Bengtson's (1985) thesis. The bridge generation (parents) were identified by half of the participants as really wanting a close grandparent-older grandchild relationship developed. One fourth stated that their parents were favourable to the idea, and only two percent stated that their parents did not want them to develop a close relationship.

Kennedy (1989) had surveyed five hundred and seventy-four college students at a midwestern university to determine attitudes towards grandparents, but also revealed factors about the interactive network.

He discovered that grandparents were not isolated by great distances from grandchildren. As well, one quarter of those questioned stated that they saw their grandparents on the average of once a week; twenty-nine percent saw them once or twice a month; thirty percent several times a year; ten percent once a year; and only seven percent less than once a year.

When motivation for visitation was questioned, seventy-two percent stated enjoyment of being with their grandparents was very important to them; fifty-seven percent stated that feelings of obligation were very important; fifty-one percent stated that grandparents needed their help; and twenty-eight percent stated that they needed their grandparent's help.

About half of the students stated that they felt as close in college as they did earlier. The other half were divided with twenty percent feeling less close than earlier to their grandparents and thirty-three percent feeling closer.

Kennedy did not state limitations for this study, nor did he discuss the instrument used. He did, however, mention that his findings about expressed responsibility for grandparents and strength of emotional ties were similar to those found by Robertson (1976).

Steitz and Verner (1987) administered a PFA (Palmore Facts on Aging) questionnaire to two hundred and six middle to upper middle class high school

students from four Memphis high schools. They investigated whether the variables of amount and quality of time spent with grandparents affected knowledge of aging for older grandchildren. They also compared responses to the PFA for this sample to those responses from a 1978 sample.

Two questions from former work by Hartshorne and Manaster (1982) were used to determine the subjective quality of contact and the objective quantity of contact.

Results indicated that eighty percent considered themselves close to a grandparent and eight percent considered themselves close to a great grandparent. This was consistent with work by Burke (1981-82) who found that ninety-nine percent of young people describe a grandparent when asked about a senior with whom they consider themselves close. In this study, most male participants described a male grandparent and most female participants described a female grandparent.

The quality of contact was rated as positive and although the relationship of quality of contact to knowledge of aging did not quite reach significance, it did lend support to Baranowski's (1982) work.

There was an inverse relationship between amount of contact and desire for contact (i.e., those with less wanted more contact, and those with more, stated that they could do with less contact).

The scores on the PFA were lower with the average being fifty-six percent. These scores were similar to ones found by Doka (1985-86) where

the average score was fifty-two percent. Those students who had little contact had increased errors on the test in relation to questions about seniors being involved in more car accidents, being more rigid and inflexible with age, and more commonly being poor. Those students who had more contact had increased error in estimating the percentage of elderly in society. Overall, there was very little improvement in negative stereotypes between 1978 and 1985 despite educational efforts. In fact, there was an increase in ratings of the elderly being cantankerous and bored, and in the number of elderly in society. The only item which improved was the item related to how poor the elderly are. Allen (1981) had similarly found that age and education had very little effect on correcting misinformation and no significant differences were noted between gender, culture or even with living with a senior.

Generally, adolescents continue to overestimate the number of institutionalized elderly, the number of seniors in society, the degree of boredom and how cantankerous the elderly are, the amount of medical attention that elderly receive and how religious the elderly are.

Steitz and Verner recommend that there is a need to teach adolescents about aging in order to decrease conflict between generations. They agree with Kingson, Hirshorn, and Cornman (1986) who suggest that "the focus needs to be placed on the interdependence of generations, intergenerational transfer and reciprocity of values, knowledge, material goods and services, as well as the increasing diversity across the life course" (p.13).

Matthews and Sprey (1985) administered a questionnaire to one hundred and thirty-two freshmen and sophomores at a college in north central United States in order to clarify the nature of their relationships with grandparents. They found that older grandchildren were more likely to have known and to currently have a grandmother and least likely to have known and currently have a paternal grandfather. If a relationship with a particular grandparent was described as close, then the respondent was more likely to see him or her more often. Sixty percent described their relationship with their maternal grandmother as close, very close, or extremely close. This finding agreed with previous findings by Kahana and Kahana (1970). Close relationships with maternal grandfathers and paternal grandmothers were determined by frequency of contact as a child, fathers being close to their mothers, and by mothers being close to their mother-in-law. Close bonds with the maternal grandmothers were not dependent on these factors.

Matthews' and Sprey's (1985) conclusions agree with those of Hagestad (1981) who found that the grandparent-older grandchild relationship has potential which may or may not develop. The development may be dependent on the particular grandparent and is facilitated through the bridge generation.

Hartshorne and Manaster (1982) attempted to go beyond previous findings of Kahana and Kahana (1970) who reported no favourite grandparent for older grandchildren and Robertson (1976) who defined the ideal grandparent as one who "loves and enjoys grandchildren, visits with them, and shows

interest in them" (p.139)

They administered a Likert-type questionnaire to one hundred and seventy-eight college students. Three of the variables explored were the amount of contact, the adequacy of the contact, and the importance of the relationship.

Hartshorne and Manaster (1982) indicate that this population had a high degree of contact with the modal scoring for personal contact being several times a year. This contact is clearly more frequent than by letter or phone and indicates that despite geographical distances, grandparent contact is maintained. Participants evaluated their current contacts while at college as inadequate and clearly expressed a desire for more than they presently had. There was no indication in this study that the preferred duration of contact was evaluated. Participants overwhelmingly rated their relationships with their grandparents as important.

Hartshorne and Manaster (1982) updated and administered Robertson's questionnaire for role conception, but their findings were contradictory and confusing. They were redefining the social and personal dimensions of the grandparent role originally used by Robertson (1976). They further identified four role conceptions from ratings of the social and personal dimensions. These role conceptions included apportioned (high social and high personal), individualized (low social but high personal), symbolic (high social but low personal), and remote (low social and low personal). Although the definitions

and preamble to the results were clear, the actual results presented in a table were labelled as role categories instead of categories of role conceptions as previously referred to in context. As well, the category referred to in context as individualized was relabelled in the table as regular, and reported results of larger frequencies for the apportioned and remote categories in context did not correspond to table results which indicated regular (individualized) and remote categories as having the highest frequencies. In the final discussion, role dimensions and conceptions were scarcely mentioned. The researchers did not indicate that the questionnaire from which these confusing results came had been tested for reliability and validity.

Hartshorne and Manaster (1982) requested that further research be done to explore why the grandparent-grandchild relationship is valued and to question how it shapes a child's personality and affects the grandparents' status in society.

Hoffman (1979) used a self-administered questionnaire given to two hundred and sixty-nine female college students to determine emotional attachment and involvement with grandparents as well as lineage and gender preferences for closeness. They found that twenty to thirty percent of the female college students involved interacted with their grandparents less than twice a year.

The students reported themselves as being closer to maternal grandparents than paternal grandparents and were significantly closer to the

maternal grandmother than all the other grandparents. He also found that living nearby facilitated close relationships between grandparents and older grandchildren.

Brief mention was given to the limitation of having an all female college student population but he did not say how this may have affected the results in relation to the maternal grandmother preference. Further research was recommended to consider whether older grandchildren turn away from grandparents and more towards peers as they mature.

Family Functioning and the Grandparent-Older Grandchild Relationship

Hyde and Gibbs (1993) attempted to summarize the role of the grandmother into six broad categories which reflect the activities and skills most frequently engaged in. These broad categories included care giver, promoter of family entity and continuity, teacher, role model, and transmitter of values. Former work by Kivnick (1982) agrees that these role categories exist for the grandmother. He further states that these roles occur simultaneously with their functions being fulfilled more at some times than at others.

Hyde and Gibbs also note that grandmothers tend to perpetuate the traditional roles of the female rather than challenge them and state that there is still much to be learned about this important relationship. The limitation of using only female college students as research participants was not mentioned.

Grandmothers were perceived by Roberto and Stroes (1992) as having a greater influence on the development of both male and female grandchildren's values in all areas except political beliefs and the work ethic. For these two areas, there was no difference noted between grandmothers and grandfathers. Previous work by Hagestad (1985) also indicated grandmothers' stronger influence on values. For this study grandmothers had greater impact on values related to family ideals, personal identity and religious beliefs.

Kennedy (1992), when exploring shared activities, found the kinkeeper role of communication and nurturing activities prevalent among females and the instrumental role involving sports and outdoor activities prevalent for males. These findings had previously been recorded by Baranowski (1990), Cherlin and Furstenberg (1985), Eisenberg (1988) and Hagestad (1985).

Roberto and Stroes (1992) also found role conception of grandparents was rated higher for grandmothers than grandfathers in both the personal and social dimensions. When the style of grandparenting (previously identified by Hartshorne and Manaster [1982] as categories of role conceptions), was evaluated, most grandparents were identified as apportioned (forty-eight and forty-two percent) or remote (twenty-nine and thirty-six percent). As might be expected, those grandfathers and grandmothers who were categorized as apportioned participated in more activities, contributed more to value development, and had stronger relationships with their grandchildren than those who were labelled as remote. These findings for apportioned and remote

categories agree with previous work by Robertson (1977) and Hartshorne and Manaster (1982).

Kennedy (1990) continued to explore the grandparent-older grandchild relationship through another survey of college students. He questioned seven hundred and four college students as to their expectations of grandparent and grandchild role behaviours. The motivation for this research originated in part from previous work by Sanders and Trygstad (1989) which stated that grandparents expressed concern over the lack of clarity of grandparent role(s).

The thirty-five item questionnaire was adapted from Robertson's (1976) survey. Input for some grandparent role items and for expected grandchild role items came from studies done by Kivnick (1982), Kornhaber and Woodward (1981), Barranti (1985), and Wilcoxon (1987). For expectations of the grandparent role, grandchildren agreed most strongly with grandparents being loving, helping, and comforting; providing role models; sharing in family history; being persons who are important in the lives of young people; and being persons with whom they could have fun. They disagreed with items indicating that grandparents spoil their grandchildren, and are out of touch; and with items which state that grandparents prefer to be with persons their own age. These perceptions of the grandparents being loving, helping, and not being out of touch were similar to those found by Robertson (1976). Perceptions of grandparents spoiling their grandchildren and preferring to be with their own age group were contrary to Robertson's findings.

Culturally, consistent with Cherlin and Furstenberg (1985), black students expected grandparents to be more involved with parenting for matters of discipline, guidance, and support. White students expected the bridge generation to have more influence in determining the grandparent-grandchild relationship.

When considering the structure of the family unit, analysis of variance revealed that grandparents of single parents and blended families were more involved and influential with grandchildren than those of intact families. Barranti (1985) and Johnson and Barer (1987) had previously suggested that grandparents become a stabilizing and buffering influence during family dissolution and reformation.

For expectations of the grandchild role, grandchildren indicated that they should express love and provide help, and that they are a part of their grandparents' view of the future. Hagestad's (1987) study also found that there is evidence that grandchildren express affection and respect for their grandparents. Grandchildren had less agreement with items that indicated that they should follow guidance of grandparents and live up to family heritage given by grandparents.

Kennedy acknowledged the limitation of having his sample from the college setting and from a limited geographical area. He recommends further research to clarify roles of grandparents and grandchildren in order to improve relationships and to contribute to the educational and social planning of those

who work with them.

Montepare, Steinberg, and Rosenberg (1992) explored communication patterns between grandparents and older grandchildren. They asked seven young college women to engage briefly in telephone conversation with their parents and grandparents in order to allow groups of twelve to fifteen male and female judges to evaluate vocal qualities and interpersonal attitudes and to guess with whom the participant was speaking.

Findings indicated that although there were no differences noted in use of complex linguistic forms, their voices were higher in pitch, sounded more babyish, feminine, and unpleasant when conversing with grandparents than with parents. As well, participants were more deferential and congenial when speaking to grandparents. Rationale for these findings is partially given to communication accommodation theory which may suggest that grandchildren hold stereotypical beliefs about grandparents which influence their interactions. Another reason given for these findings was that although grandchildren stated that they enjoyed interacting with their grandparents, especially grandmothers, there were times when they were not sincere.

Limitations of conducting this research in a laboratory instead of a natural setting and of having an all female sample without analysis of the grandparents were mentioned. Further research considering these limitations and also demographic variables was recommended.

Intergenerational Programs

Intergenerational programs were initiated and have been influential in society since the early 1970s. They exist in the schools, in seniors' residences, in the community, and in non-traditional settings.

The literature presents a very positive view of intergenerational exchanges in schools, whether they have occurred at the primary level of elementary school or at the post secondary level in university programs such as nursing, medicine or psychology.

In most instances, seniors were identified as teachers and youth as students. Positive gains were presented for both parties involved. Youth were reported to have learned values about human qualities such as love, affiliation, and happiness and, in addition, frequently demonstrated increased awareness of how seniors preferred them to behave (Berkson & Griggs 1986; Gonczol, 1989). They also frequently demonstrated learning about history, family life, and death and dying through the stories told spontaneously by the seniors (Love, 1985). Such learning experiences are consistent with what Dewey (1963) called "collateral learning" where students pick up healthy attitudes about life in general through such relationships.

The seniors were reported to have gained increased self-esteem and self-respect through their own life reviews, prompted by the children (Berkson & Griggs, 1986; Shipman, 1986). They also viewed the intergenerational

programs as outings that provided improved quality of life, increased self-confidence, and provided purpose in their lives (Shipman, 1986; Wood Tierce & Seelbach, 1987).

Research on intergenerational exchanges in the schools did not always present as positive an image as descriptive literature, but those who were participants in the studies consistently suggested rewarding outcomes. The primary problem presented was the difficulty in getting senior volunteers into the schools. Wood Tierce and Seelbach (1987) mention that, at that time, only five percent of educational volunteers were seniors; and Shipman (1986), in his studies in the Toronto area, pointed out that only zero point one percent of all the seniors in the area were participating in the schools as volunteers. No other research was found to give reasons for the low participation rates in schools but Shipman (1986) suggests that perhaps schools need to extend more encouraging invitations to the seniors.

Weinberger (1979) conducted a study in which he showed elementary school children pictures of individuals in various stages of the life cycle. He found that children are able to perceive aging in the same fashion as adults and that they possess negative stereotypes of the elderly. Seefeldt (1977) used a CATE (Children's Attitudes Towards the Elderly) test to also demonstrate that elementary school children did not perceive being old as positive. Researchers involved with intergenerational exchanges in the schools hoped, through their studies, to demonstrate that their programs would change negative stereotypes

of the elderly.

When teachers were encouraged to include an elementary curriculum on aging, Lyons, Newman, and Vasudev (1985) reported significant attitude changes in only a few areas. Baggett (1981) had utilized a senior volunteer in the public school classroom and results of the CATE testing indicated that interactions alone were not the prescription for changes in negative stereotypes. Kuehne (1988; 1989) was very aware of the visible gains both children and seniors achieve, but her studies indicated that neither increased amount of time spent with grandparents nor increased exposure to intergenerational classroom settings significantly altered children's attitudes towards seniors.

The research results of others provides positive results. Olejnik & Larue (1981) exposed junior high school students on a daily basis to seniors in the cafeteria and found that perceptions of the seniors became less negative over time. Maclean & Marcus (1981) reported that when seniors were brought into a course on aging as consultants, all parties benefitted from increased knowledge, modified stereotypes and strengthened intergenerational contacts. Prose (1984) found that a group of students involved in a planned intergenerational program had altered their perceptions of aging significantly more than the control group.

Research indicates that seniors make significant gains through participation. Newman, Vasudev & Baum (1983) demonstrated both quantitatively and qualitatively that seniors have increased life satisfaction when

participating in intergenerational exchanges.

These inconsistent results from intergenerational research in the schools have motivated continued ongoing research, and an openness to new ideas for presenting original programs.

In an attempt to involve more seniors in intergenerational interactions, programs were started in senior residences. These primarily occurred in nursing homes and involved seniors and very young preschoolers or health professionals in training.

As noted with the school programs, the literature presented a very positive image of these programs. The generations were noted to enjoy spending time together, and the youth involved obtained a sense of continuity in a society where it is considered difficult to find (Rost, 1989; Tice, 1982).

Achiron and Free (1993) noted that visitation by preschoolers to a nursing home helps the generation gap disappear.

Research studying intergenerational connections between preschoolers and nursing home residents, however, also presents incongruent results. Lyons (1986) reports overwhelming success with preschoolers working with seniors in a nursing home while Seefeldt (1987) found that this same age group held even more negative opinions of the seniors after visiting a nursing home. In an older study, Seefeldt et al (1982) found that seniors did not hold reciprocal negative attitudes towards children. In studies where college or university students visited seniors, or where the seniors provided services for the student (i.e., life

career histories) both generations gained. Seniors demonstrated improved physical and psychosocial status and students positively altered their perceptions of aging (Flynn & Devoss, 1983; Newman, Lyons, & Onawola, 1985).

The intergenerational programs in the community tended to involve active, healthy, seniors working with youth at risk of school dropout or social deviancy, or the youth actively participating in programs for seniors at risk for poor health because of their economic status, or both parties active and working for the improvement of the community.

Cherry et al (1985) describe a project where seniors teach teens from a local gang how to garden. The youth learned gardening skills and received affective support from the seniors, who in turn demonstrated feelings of increased worth and benefited from the harvest of the vegetable garden. A similar project had youth learning business skills necessary to establish a food co-op for seniors in need of supplementing their weekly food supply (Allen, 1986).

Cornish (1992) describes a retired teacher's work with a fourteen year old to provide him with a positive role model and encouragement to stay in school. Smink's research report (1990) supports seniors who mentor school dropouts.

Ventura-Merkel and Freedman (1988) praise the learning experience that occurs when seniors attempt job training for youth as an alternative to jail, and

parenting education for teen moms and families at high risk for abuse.

Freedman's (1988) work encourages the work of senior mentors in assisting youth experiencing a treacherous transition from adolescence to adulthood.

Seniors were also described as supportive for children of welfare families (Harnett, 1989), and helpful as educators for literacy programs (Lidoff & Ross, 1983).

When both members involved in intergenerational community programs were healthy and active, it was noted that not only did learning occur, but attitudes became more positive towards the seniors. Hancox (1990) explained that a strong friendship resulted when a group of Brownies decided to work with senior volunteers. The research of Trent, Glass, and Crockett (1979) had laid the foundation for encouraging such community projects. They had noted positive changes of attitude in 4-H club members after working on projects jointly with seniors. Similar changes of attitude were noted for health professionals in training when they were encouraged to work with well elderly in health promotion clinics or in service agencies (Adelman, 1988; Firman, Gelfand, & Ventura, 1983).

When Kuehne (1988) discovered through her research that attitudes toward the elderly did not change despite intergenerational exposure and contact with extended family members, it was hypothesized that the length of the contact time and the quality of the relationship were important. Intergenerational exchanges in non-traditional settings draw on these concepts

and encourage high quality relationships that will carry on over time such as the grandparent-grandchild relationship.

Although no research was found related to intergenerational exchanges in other settings, descriptive literature, such as Baxter's (1992) article, praises the positive gains of active healthy seniors adopting grandchildren and acting as mentors for them. Both parties gain historical information, companionship and a sense of extended family as well as opportunity to explore many life situations together (Fifth Column, 1992; Hughes, 1992). Tedrick (1981) suggests that the many facilities of the Parks & Recreation Department might be utilized to achieve age integration through leisure activities.

Ventura-Merkel (1988) used the concept of senior mentoring to establish a Family & Friends project where seniors worked successfully with children and their families from the inner city.

In situations where it is desired to connect natural grandparents and grandchildren, the physical distance between the two requires creative planning. Crowley (1991) explains that psychiatrist Arthur Kornhaber established an annual six-day camp in the Adirondak mountains to allow seniors and their grandchildren to live together and gain from each other away from the everyday busy life. Hamed and Goldstein (1990) explained that exchanges need not always happen in person, and described how grandparents (natural or adopted) can correspond by letter and plan for common events such as concerts or plays or outings to occur on a designated grandparent-grandpal day.

Munn (1991) in her article "Taking grandchildren found worthwhile," mentions Helena Koenig's Grandtravel business where grandparents are encouraged to take grandchildren on educational travel experiences for ten days to two weeks.

This literature indicates that intergenerational programs in society provide a rich environment in which young and old can come together to develop relationships. Intergenerational programs which encourage the grandparent-older grandchild relationship await further development and study.

Summary of the Literature Reviewed

This exploration of the present state of the knowledge helped the researcher become familiar with existing intergenerational exchanges.

The literature review of the grandparent-older grandchild relationship has indicated that older grandchildren value the relationship and participate in many varied activities together despite separation by distance. An attempt has been made to categorize shared activities into clusterings but it is concluded that more work is needed to provide a reliable formulation of these clusters.

The formation of grandparent-older grandchild relationships and the related interactive networks is indicated in existing literature as dependent on frequency of contact (both past and present), and involves the potential for very close relationships with maternal grandparents and particularly with maternal

grandmothers rather than with paternal grandparents. However, these samples contain high numbers of females particularly from college or university settings. There has also been contradictory evidence presented as to whether the relationship weakens or strengthens with maturity, and how much the bridge generation influences it.

Despite the excellence of existing social intergenerational programs, there is an ongoing need to explore creative options that expand these programs, positively change attitudes, and potentially get more people involved.

All previous studies have been primarily quantitative in nature with the use of a questionnaire for data collection. With the exception of one study, there was no mention of testing these questionnaires for reliability and validity.

For a summary of the literature related to the grandparent-older grandchild, see Table 2.

No one to date has looked at the grandparent-older grandchild relationship qualitatively, and few have explored it from the grandparent perspective. There is a need for more data to provide a reliable activity cluster formulation for this relationship and an awareness of the interactive network that exists and how it was formed. It will also be helpful to indicate how the interaction of grandparents and older grandchildren affect family functioning and what preferences for community intergenerational programs exist for these individuals.

Table 2

Literature Review Summary Chart

Author & Title	Design	Number	Region	Variables	Results
Baranowski, M. (1984, Nov.). Sex Differences in Adolescents' Relations with Grandparents.	Survey	405 highschool students	Maine	Teen preference for grandparent for: -skill acquisition -visitation & history telling -leisure time & advice -task completion	-maternal grandmother was the grandparent of choice -few differences between male & female grandchildren -obtain family history about parents. -skills were received from the same sex grandparent
Gershenson Hodgson, L. (1992). Adult Grandchildren and their Grandparents: The Enduring Bond.	Survey	208 teenagers 18yrs and older	from all states in the United States	-Levels of contact for grandparent & grandchild -perception of closeness with grandparent	-closer proximity led to greater frequency of contact -majority were in contact several times a month -37.9% considered their relationship very close, 32% close, and 23.6% somewhat close. -the bridge generation affected the evaluation of the relationship and maternal grandparents were perceived closer. -personal characteristics, need to relate, and personal crises were reasons for closeness.
Hartshorne, T. & Manaster, G. (1982). The Relationship with grandparents: Contact, Importance, Role Conception.	Survey	178 Community College Students	Austin Texas	-amount and adequacy of contact -importance of relationship -role conception	-contact occurred several times a year with more contact in person than by phone or letter. -interaction was greatest with maternal grandmother -all felt that there could be more contact -43.8% rated contact extremely important & 51.1% rated it important. -consistent personal and social roles of grandparents with maternal grandmother being more personal.

(table continues)

Author & Title	Design	Number	Region	Variables	Results
Hoffman, E. (1979-80). Young Adults Relations with their Grandparents: An Exploratory Study.	Survey	269 female under-graduates	New York	-frequency of interaction -perceived emotional closeness	-20% with maternal grandparents & 25-30% with paternal grandparents have minimal contact (less than 2x's a year). -greater closeness noted to the maternal grandparents -closer to the maternal grandfather than to the paternal grandmother. -young adults do not turn away from grandparents.
Hyde, V. & Gibbs, I. (1993). A Very Special Relationship: Granddaughters' perceptions of Grandmothers.	Survey & Interview	130 female under-graduates & student nurses	England	- relationship with grandparents -role of grandmother	-supports American research in that there is a closeness with the grandmothers. -no difference between the maternal and paternal grandmothers. -grandmother roles include, caregiver, indulger, provider of family entity and continuity, teacher, role model, and transmitter of values.
Kennedy, G. (1990). College Students' Expectations of Grandparent & Grandchild Role Behaviors.	Questionnaire	704 college students	Midwest USA	-degree of closeness -grandparent roles as seen by the student -grandchild roles as seen by the student	-students tended to feel closer to the maternal grandparents. -grandparent role - loving, helping, & comforting, & role models, sharing family history & providing fun. -grandchild role - loving, helping, & providing a sense of future.
Kennedy, G. (1989). College Students' Relationships with Grandparents.	Questionnaire	574 college students	Midwest USA	-attitudes towards grandparents -geographic closeness -reasons & motivation for contact	- students were not isolated by great distances & the majority visited frequently - 46% visited by habit, 33% visited at parents' suggestion, 13% visited spontaneously, & 2% had not visited in the last two years. -motivation for visit was 72% enjoyment, 57% obligation, 57% to give help, & 51% to get help.

(table continues)

Author & Title	Design	Number	Region	Variables	Results
Kennedy, G. (1992). Shared Activities of Grandparents and Grandchildren	Questionnaire	391 undergraduate students	midwest USA	-shared activities related to sociability, companionship, helping the grandparent, community events, grandparent entertainment, helping outdoors, & nonclustered items	-maternal grandmothers provided the closest relationship for shared activities -the closer the relationship, the more the shared activities -activity rate was higher for females than males -greater activity level with cultural differences, family unit stress, & older grandchild,
Langer, N. (1990) Grandparents and Adult Grandchildren: What do they do for each other?	Questionnaire	118 grandparents & 118 adult grandchildren	Miami Beach	-expressive exchange -instrumental exchange	- adult grandchildren give both more expressive and instrumental support than they receive. -the majority of the relationships are non-reciprocal and the grandparent perceives reciprocity as receiving more than they give. -grandchild gains a sense of worth from being part of the grandparents' support system.
Mathews, S. & Sprey, J. (1985). Adolescents' Relationships with Grandparents: An Empirical Contribution to Conceptual Clarification	Questionnaire	132 late adolescents	north central USA	-availability of grandparents -distinguishing among grandparents -access in childhood -change and continuity of the relationship	-more likely to have known and currently to have a maternal grandmother; least likely to have known and currently have a paternal grandfather - closer to maternal grandmother and less close to paternal grandparents of either gender. -visitation as children increased closeness as teens -close bonds to paternal grandmothers were facilitated by fathers being close to mom; mothers close to mother in law; and grandchild having access in childhood. -relationships are particularistic & not global roles

(table continues)

Author & Title	Design	Number	Region	Variables	Results
Montepare,J., Steinburg, B. & Rosenberg, B. (1992). Characteristics of Vocal Communication Between Young Adults and Their Parents and Grandparents.	Voice analysis	seven university students	USA	-vocal qualities and interpersonal attitudes displayed during phone conversations with parents and with grand parents.	-no difference was noted in the use of complex linguistic forms -sounded more babyish, feminine, and unpleasant when conversing with grandparents -considered more congenial and deferential with grandparents because of familial obligation rather than cognitive capacity assumptions.
Roberto,K. & Stroes, J. (1992). Grandchildren and Grandparents: Roles, Influences, and Relationships.	Questionnaire	142 college students	North Colorado	-frequency of activity -value development -relationship solidarity -role conception	-grandchildren participate in brief visits & tend to be more involved with grandmothers of either parent. -grandmothers influence value development except in the areas of political beliefs and work ethic (equal influence). - grandmothers tended to be more social and personal -involved grandparents contributed to value development and had stronger relationships.
Steitz, J. & Verner, S. (1987). What do Adolescents Know About Aging?	Aging Quiz	213 highschool students	Memphis, Tn	-knowledge of aging with amount and quality of contact of 1985 group as compared to the 1978 group	-80% chose a grandparent & 8% chose a great grandparent -for the 1985 group only 57% of the knowledge questions were answered correctly -increased quality of contact meant increased knowledge of aging. -facts erroneously believed in 1978 were the same in 1985.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

Overview

Chapter Three presents the research approach taken and the design of this study. A brief explanation of the pilot study will be given with description as to how it contributed to the subsequent modifications of the research. The participant selection process, data collection descriptions, and data processing and analysis procedures will be written up here in detail.

Description of Research Approach

The research approach for this study is phenomenological and thus qualitative focusing on the experience of the grandparent-older grandchild interaction. The approach was chosen as the most viable way to focus on lived experience. The use of narrative audiotapes and interviews allowed the researcher to organize and present a picture of the relationship.

The phenomenological approach was guided by van Manen's (1990) six research activities. These activities include:

- 1 - turning to a phenomenon which seriously interests us and commits us to the world;
- 2 - investigating experience as we live it rather than as we conceptualize it;

3 - reflecting on the essential themes which characterize the phenomenon;

4 - describing the phenomenon through the art of writing and rewriting;

5 - maintaining a strong and oriented pedagogical relation to the phenomenon;

6 - balancing the research context by considering parts and the whole.

(pp. 30-31)

During the year of data collection, the researcher attended related conferences and explored the current state of knowledge through interviews with experts in the field of intergenerational exchange, and through literature searches. This background exploration allowed for more reflective analysis of the data in keeping with van Manen's (1990) description of hermeneutic (interpretive) phenomenology. This increased awareness of existing intergenerational activity allowed the researcher to consider whether the results of the study could be incorporated into expanding the intergenerational endeavour.

Research Design

This research was planned as a qualitative study which germinated from the researcher's phenomenological questions:

What is it like for a grandparent to interact with older grandchildren?

and:

What is it like for an older grandchild to interact with grandparents?

In keeping with phenomenological research, some aspects of the design unfolded as the research was carried out. Once participant pairs were obtained, they were encouraged to interact together as they normally would. In order to explore the interaction and yet not interfere with it, participants were encouraged to audiotape in a reflective diary fashion an account of their interactions after the fact. Instruction sheets with some very general questions were given to each participant (see Appendix B). Both grandparents and older grandchildren were encouraged to audiotape. With initial data analysis, additional questions emerged which needed to be addressed in order to clarify themes and theme clusters (see related research questions in Chapter One). These questions were then appropriately reworded and asked of the participants during interviews. The questions asked of the participants were:

- 1) During your initial contact with (grandparent or grandchild) you participated together in (activities). Could you elaborate on some of the other activities that you've shared together with your (grandparent or grandchild) and why?
- 2) Could you share with me why it was decided that you would spend time with (grandparent/grandchild)?
- 3) The two of you are members of a larger family unit. Can you explain

to me how you feel your relationship with (grandparent or grandchild) affects the larger family or how you see yourselves as members of that larger group?

4) Can you think of any ways that your community/society could support your relationship with (grandparent or grandchild)?

The descriptive picture of the grandparent-older grandchild interaction was created based on the total data collected and on the background information obtained from the current state of knowledge.

Pilot Studies

In April of 1993, a pilot study was done with two participant pairs each consisting of one grandparent and their older grandchild. For convenience, the two pairs involved were acquainted, and the shared experience was a one-week vacation together. The four participants included a seventy-eight year old grandmother and her twelve year old granddaughter and an eighty year old grandfather and his seventeen year old grandson. The grandparents were husband and wife and the grandchildren were brother and sister.

During their one-week vacation, each pair was asked to choose two activities that they could share together. They were asked to audiotape their response to these shared activities at the end of each day.

In order to avoid bias, the participants' audiotapes were reviewed by a

research assistant, following explanation of the study by the researcher.

At the time of the pilot, focus was placed on a more specific question:
What teaching-learning experiences occur when grandparents and older grandchildren interact?

Following analysis of the pilot data, the final research question was determined:

What functional patterns are in place when grandparents interact with their older grandchildren?

It was also agreed by a committee of experts that the methodology and procedure could remain relatively unchanged.

Selection of Subjects

The sample was one of convenience. The participants for the study were accepted on a first come first accepted basis. Posters were displayed in the local shopping malls, at the back of churches, and in the local libraries (see Appendix A for sample posters). Participants in the study consisted of six pairs of grandparents and grandchildren who were willing to spend time together. The eligibility criteria for participation required that participants be grandparents and related older grandchildren willing to interact and able to understand the instructions and the consent (see Appendices B and C).

Field Procedures

Each participating study pair began the study with an informed consent (see Appendix C), which had an accompanying instruction sheet (see Appendix B). This sheet provided the participating pairs with basic instructions for choosing activities or experiences to share together. It also provided a set of six very general questions to assist with audiotape following the shared activity or experience. Verbal instructions were given for use of the tape recorder.

The study settings for this qualitative study varied depending upon the mutual agreement of the study pairs. The only requirement was that the activity be mutually agreed upon.

Subsequent interviews were conducted on the telephone utilizing an answering machine to audiotape the conversation. These telephone interviews became necessary because one member of the study pair usually lived outside the researcher's local area.

Data Collection and Recording

All data collected were recorded on audiotapes and participants were assured that their anonymity would be respected. Upon collection, the paired tapes were labelled using letters of the alphabet (i.e., A & a). The upper case letter represented the grandparent in the pair and the lower case represented

the grandchild. The third party reviewing the initial data, as well as the researcher, were held accountable for using the coded letters to refer to the participants during the recording of data.

Data Processing and Qualitative Analysis

The phenomenological style included use of a small sample of participants to collect initial data on audiotapes. Data were then transcribed and explored using an analysis of sentences and/or phrases in an attempt to clarify a variety of themes and subsequent theme clusters. Coding consisted of marking themes with an identifiable marking as they were revealed in the transcribed data. Following review of initial data, four questions evolved to be clarified during a recorded interview (see interview questions). These interviews were done individually (i.e., grandparents and grandchildren spoke separately to the researcher).

The first question was designed to expand upon the list of activities that grandparents and older grandchildren share together and to explore why they decide to share in these particular activities as opposed to others. Once a list of shared activities was made, they were grouped into clusters and compared to Kennedy's (1992) clustering.

The second question was intended to explore the interactive network that forms when grandparents and grandchildren share activities together and to

understand how that network is established.

The third question evolved from copious data related to the concepts of communication, role, and affect, as well as some data related to problem solving and control. These concepts were recognized as dimension concepts of family functioning and it was decided to explore how the grandparent-older grandchild relationship affected normal family functioning through these dimensional concepts.

The McMaster Model of Family Functioning was utilized for this analysis. This Family Categories Schema was originally developed by Epstein, Sigal and Rakoff (1962) for family therapy use and has been revised for assessment by Epstein, Bishop, and Baldwin (1982). While this model does not address all of the aspects of family functioning, it does focus on the dimensions which are said to have the most impact on the emotional and physical health of family members. It has been praised for its ease of use and for its ability to deal with the full spectrum of family functioning from health to pathology. Its development was based on systems theory and aspects of this theory form the basis for the family functioning model. Concepts which are noted as affecting family functioning are communication, roles, affect, problem solving, and control. They are reviewed independently during presentation of findings.

The fourth and final interview question recognized the theme of the relationship being connected to the community through shared activities. It explored whether or not there would be any suggestion by the participants for

social programs or initiatives which would encourage this grandparent-older grandchild relationship.

Assistance with phenomenological analysis was obtained from peer experts in qualitative research and through related literature particularly van Manen's (1990) book on researching lived experience. He provides helpful information on the nature of lived experience, formulating the phenomenological question, conducting thematic analysis, and attempting to write in a phenomenological manner. The limitation of van Manen's work for this study is that he writes specifically for qualitative researchers in education.

LoBiondo-Wood and Haber (1990) write about research in nursing and the research process. They were consulted for clarification of the qualitative approach, properly stating the problem statement, and for their suggestions related to conducting a literature review.

Assumptions

An assumption made by the researcher was that grandparents and older grandchildren interact in a variety of ways that can potentially be beneficial to both parties.

To avoid having this assumption predispose the researcher to interpret the grandparent-grandchild interaction phenomenon, the following steps were taken:

1) Research pairs were given a tape recorder and instructed on how to collect initial data without the presence of the researcher.

2) A research assistant who was unaware of the researcher's prior understandings reviewed the initial audiotapes to minimize any bias.

A second assumption related to participants agreeing to enter the study. It was assumed that they would continue to be involved until it was completed. This was not the case for this study. One pair (B & b) dropped out by choice, after the initial data collection. A second pair (D & d) did not complete the interview because of difficulties audiotaping the grandchild during a long-distance telephone conversation. The final participant population of four pairs provided data for the researcher to create a picture of the grandparent-older grandchild relationship.

Limitations

A limitation for this study was the selection process for the participants. Although some participants were recruited through posting of appropriate notations, the sample was one of convenience. This presented the possibility that the research participants might attempt to present data that would please the researcher. Having participants audiotape their own experiences and utilizing a research assistant kept contact with the researcher to a minimum and decreased somewhat the effect of this limitation. In addition, the researcher

avoided letting any research participant become aware of her pre-understandings of the phenomenon.

A second limitation was the inconsistency of data collection utilized by the participants. When an audiotape was made, both parties were usually present which may have hampered the reflective nature of what was said. Those participants who spontaneously privately recorded their reflections on audiotape provided much more data.

A third limitation acknowledges that involvement of the middle generation (the parents) would have been very helpful for obtaining supporting data especially related to the family functions concepts.

A final limitation of this study was the researcher's time constraints and inexperience with analyzing qualitative data. Repeated analysis of data undoubtedly would reveal more themes and theme clusters related to the grandparent-older grandchild relationship. This limitation is accepted as such because the research was designed to be an exploratory beginning study which will result in suggestions for further research.

Restatement of the Problem Statement

The methodology for this study was developed with the intent of looking more closely at the intergenerational exchange which occurs between grandparents and older grandchildren.

The problem in this study involves the challenge of exploring intergenerational relationships between grandparents and older grandchildren which need to be explored in order to gain insight into functional patterns that are deemed to be beneficial.

Qualitative research needs to explore what functional patterns are in place when grandparents interact with older grandchildren and to question how this relationship affects family functioning and influences intergenerational planning.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS (ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION)

Overview

This chapter presents the findings and interpretation of the findings for this study. The main research question to be answered was:

What functional patterns exist when grandparents interact with their older grandchildren?

Through exploration of the main question it was determined that when grandparents and older grandchildren interact, they are involved in a variety of activities. The interactive networks formed for participation in these activities are specific and often involve particular grandparents and grandchildren. Frequently, generational peers of both participants share in the activities.

When family functioning concepts were examined, it was found that the grandparent-older grandchild relationship contributes to healthy family functioning through the concepts of communication, role, affect, problem solving and control.

The activities shared were a combination of personal, family, and community activities and grandparents and older grandchildren readily volunteered to suggest programs which would encourage participation in these intergenerational relationships.

These findings were arrived at through analysis of the data obtained from participants' initial audiotapes of their shared experiences and subsequent

interviews. The four questions which evolved as the study was being carried out and which led to the above findings were:

1. What do grandparents and older grandchildren choose to do together?
2. How was the interactive network formed and by whom?
3. How does the intergenerational exchange between grandparents and older grandchildren affect family functioning?
4. Do grandparents and older grandchildren support the idea of having social programs in their communities which encourage intergenerational activities?

The specific findings for this study are discussed as responses to each of these questions. The first part of the analysis for each question will present the findings. The relevant data will be displayed in tables and narrative. The second part presents an interpretation of the findings utilizing the present state of the knowledge mentioned in Chapter Two.

Shared Activities

The shared activities of grandparents and older grandchildren are varied, but do involve some common types of activities.

Shared activities participated in and/or mentioned in an interview are contained in Tables 3 through 5. Upper case letters identify the grandparent and lower case letters identify the grandchild.

Table 3
Shared Activities for (A & a) and (B & b)

Shared Activities During Study Participation For (A & a):

- travelled together by automobile with other family members
 - attended a dance competition in Detroit
 - ate meals together
 - went out to an educational dinner theatre about the American civil war
 - went grocery shopping
 - attended two Sunday church services
 - enjoyed walking on the beach together
 - completed a school project, "Room of the Future" together
 - shared a babysitting experience while parents were out for the afternoon
-

Shared Activities Mentioned During Interview For (A & a):

- occasional informal visits to each others homes
 - get togethers for birthdays and anniversaries
 - family seasonal gatherings at Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Easter
 - talking on the phone together
 - spent a week together in the grandchild's home while the parents were on vacation and went for a walk together every day
 - went sight seeing and antique shopping with another relative in Aurora
 - played cards and Scrabble together and helped each other do housework and prepare meals
-

Shared Activities During Study Participation For (B & b):

- shared a visit with other set of grandparents and participated in a conversation about family heritage
 - attended two Sunday church services and travelled with other family members for a vacation
 - explored Brookgreen Gardens containing a variety of horticulture and sculptures
 - walked on the beach and played horseshoes together
 - dined out together to celebrate grandparents 51st wedding anniversary
-

Shared Activities Mentioned During Interview For (B & b):

- assisted with cousins to help grandparents pack to move to their apartment
 - shared in get togethers for birthdays, anniversaries, and seasonal family gatherings
 - shared meals and household chores when parents were away for summer vacation
-

Table 4
Shared Activities for (C & c) and (D & d)

Shared Activities During Study Participation For (C & c):

- spent one week at grandfather's winter home in Florida
 - ate out at restaurants and went shopping for groceries
 - did laundry and housekeeping duties
 - shared walks on the beach and to the stores
-

Shared Activities Mentioned During Interview For (C & c):

- sharing summer and Christmas vacations with the family
 - spending time together at birthdays and other family occasions
 - each grandchild spent March break when they turned 13 years old
 - go out for lunch after church on Sunday
 - talk on the phone once a week from Florida home to Canadian home
 - going out together to the pharmacy, cleaners or grocery store
 - taught grandparent how to prepare a simple meal
 - providing monetary support for future education
-

Shared Activities During Study Participation for (D & d):

- spent two weeks at grandparents' home
 - went out to dinner at restaurants
 - visited Ontario Place water park and fireworks, planetarium, and the Royal Ontario museum
 - participated in family gatherings at relatives' homes
 - went to harbour front and participated in artwork activities of pottery making and glass blowing
 - visited Marineland and Niagara Falls and went to see Miss Saigon
 - watched TV together and went to the Hockey Hall of Fame
 - swam in the apartment pool together
-

Shared Activities Mentioned During Interview For (D & d):

- summer visits at grandchildren's homes
 - phone conversations periodically
 - family gatherings for special occasions
 - grandparents had each grandchild visit alone at about age 11
-
-

Table 5
Shared Activities For (E & e) and (F & f)

Shared Activities During Study Participation for (E & e):

- spent a weekend at grandparents' home without other family members
 - went out for lunch and attended a theatre called the Mouse Trap
 - attended a bazaar and visited great grandmother together
 - grandparent taught grandchild how to use watercolour paints
 - assisted grandparent with refinishing of the bathroom
 - shared a visit with family unit at the beginning and end of weekend
 - taught grandparent how to make french toast
-

Shared Activities Mentioned During Interview For (E & e):

- spend summer vacations together in Vancouver or grandchildren come to the grandparents' home
 - share conversations on the telephone
 - go to the zoo, and Ontario Place, sailing and go carting
 - visit Wonderland, CN Tower and enjoy lunch at Old Ed's
 - visit with other members of the family
 - attend church services and visit the conservation area and art galleries
 - grandfather writes a letter to each grandchild when they turn 13
-

Shared Activities During Study Participation for (F & f):

- shared one week together at a Toronto Elderhostel
 - ate meals together and went on a walking tour of the campus
 - attended a radio theory class, toured CJRT and telecommunication centre
 - learned how to operate a movie camera and create a mini video
 - took a bus tour of Toronto and visited the World's Largest Bookstore
 - went on a tour of the CBC building and the Toronto Metro Centre
 - enjoyed visiting the taping of the Dini Petti show
 - attended a lecture on age, race and gender stereotyping
 - participated in the banquet at Oakham House for the final evening
-

Shared Activities Mentioned During Interview For (F & f):

- attend events such as the school play when invited
 - provide monetary support for fund raising efforts of grandchildren
 - assist grandparent with housecleaning activities
 - provide transportation for grandchildren when parents can't
 - play games (like UNO) together and assist with crafts
 - attend family picnics and special occasions such as birthdays together
-

All six participant pairs clearly indicated that time spent together frequently occurred at family gathering activities for seasonal or personal events such as Christmas, birthdays or anniversaries. Participants were also all noted to share in activities related to dining together, either at the homes of the grandparent or grandchild or at restaurants.

All participants for this study also included travel as part of their shared activities. A trip was part of the shared time in the case of participants (A & a), (B & b), and (F & f) where a one-week holiday was decided upon and the entire time shared together. In the case of grandchildren (d) & (c), a trip was necessary to unite with grandparents for shared activities. For grandchild (e), a short weekend trip to his grandparents was part of the shared activities. During time spent together, all participants enjoyed day trips to parks, theatres, community events etc.

Activities that involved helping or assisting either grandparents or grandchildren were mentioned by five of the six participant pairs. These activities included assisting with the activities of daily living such as shopping, house cleaning or renovating and cooking (mentioned by all participants except [D & d]); as well as other activities such as assisting with moving and sharing in fund raising efforts (mentioned by [b] and [A] and [F]) .

Activities which indicated provision of companionship were mentioned by all participant pairs. These included watching TV together, walking together, sharing hobbies such as painting, playing games, and sharing recreational

activities such as swimming or other sports.

Five of the six participant pairs mentioned that some of the shared activities were intended to be of an entertaining nature. Grandparents spent some of their time together with older grandchildren going out to the theatre, or golfing, attending a show, or going to the zoo, a water park, art show, or other entertaining activity. As well some participant grandchildren provided entertainment for their grandparents by inviting them to share in their dance competition (as in the case of participant [a]) or to attend a play in which they were involved (as in the case of participant [f]).

Educational activities were also shared by some of the participant pairs. Participants (A & a) attended a dinner theatre about the American Civil War and also worked together on a school project designing a "room of the future." Participant (c) mentioned in her interview that she had been successful in teaching her grandfather how to prepare a simple meal. Participants (D & d) shared in a pottery making and glass blowing session and participant (e) learned some watercolour painting and home renovating skills from his grandparents. Participants (F & f) spent their vacation week together at an educational "Elderhostel" where they indicated that they learned numerous things about radio and television media.

Two grandparent participants (A) and (C) indicated that sharing in spiritually related activities was important and indicated regret in not doing more with older grandchildren. Participant (A) stated:

As far as church goes, I feel that setting an example about religion is a definite part that I should be playing, but I'm not sure that I am because of being separated and so far away.

Participant (C) stated:

In my growing up days, of course our activities were confined to the church and to the young peoples'. That's one thing in both families that I'm not very happy with. The children were brought up when they were younger to go to church with us, but when they are on their own, they've sort of forgotten the church.

During analysis of activity data, two other factors were noted. First, mutual enjoyment was indicated as a priority for planning shared activities, and second, consideration of activity tolerance was necessary for those who were involved in the shared activity. Data indicating these two factors are found in Table 6. Grandparent (D) summarized this desire to enjoy shared activities with consideration of activity tolerance in his diary account of day trips to Niagara Falls and Marineland and later to Ontario place.

Grandparent energy level. We found that by the late afternoon, at Niagara Falls both my wife and I were beginning to tire. At Ontario Place there were a couple of very active water slides that the youngsters enjoyed so we let them off to engage in that while we sat around absorbing the atmosphere and vicariously enjoying their enthusiasm. Participants A, B, and F made similar comments about the need to

Table 6**Enjoyment and Activity Tolerance for (A & a), (B & b), (C & c) & (D & d)**

(A)-"I think that it's great that grandparents should get together with their grandchildren, but it should be for a limited time. I don't think older grandparents can handle grandchildren for too long." "If we could visit more often, I would like it, I think it's good ... It's just that you have to think about the age, and our [A & B] strength and ability compared to the young. We're old grandparents ... so we're senior seniors."

(B)- "I would do it again ... It was no trouble with the kids ... [b] ... you'd never know that he was there." "Oh, I'm getting too old and at times, it was too tiresome."

(C)- "Of all the enjoyment I've had in my 83 yrs on this planet, I grant the times I've spent with my grandchildren have been very well spent." "We didn't do this for any other reason than to become more acquainted with them and they with us ... it's just been wonderful. I don't know what I'd do without my grandchildren."

(c)- "He's excellent, he really is. He's very able to keep in touch with us ." "Granddad lost his licence last year, he's legally blind, so all the grandchildren take turns going out and picking him up ... and driving him ... or bringing him here for dinner." " So he invites them [grandchildren] out to play golf ... because he still plays golf." "He's still very active in our lives so there's sort of a focus on keeping him happy and active."

(d)- "But it was fun." " We had fun ... I really liked it."

(D)- "For us this was a most pleasant two weeks ... [d] is a delightful little girl." "Continue to expand our own emotional attachments to her to the extent that it has heightened and extended our own feelings of mutual love." "Grandparent energy level. We found that by the late afternoon, at Niagara Falls both my wife and I were beginning to tire ... At Ontario Place there were a couple of very active water slides that the youngsters enjoyed so we let them off to engage in that ... while we sat around absorbing the atmosphere and vicariously enjoying their enthusiasm ... one of the lessons of grandparents and grandchildren coming together is that you've got to leave lots of elbow room for both 'togetherness' and 'separateness' so that the thing doesn't become too onerous for either party."

(table continues)

Table 6
Enjoyment and Activity Tolerance

(D)'s spouse- "I feel that d got a greater understanding of somewhat older people and their inabilities to keep up in the same way that parents can physically and that this is a good thing for her to learn." "We could do a lot of things together but obviously we haven't got the same energy to participate ... We can still relate and enjoy each other's company on the basis of things that we are able to do."

(E)- "We're still not too old that we can't enjoy having our grandchildren around."

(E)'s spouse- "She [daughter] always hoped that we would still have some energy by the time her children were born to do the things that she knew we'd done with [son's] children."

(e)-"I really liked going to ... I had fun ... Ya, it was fun."

"My other grandparent is really older and he's really a different person ... I don't think I'm able to spend time with him ... I don't think he could handle it. He also has health problems."

(F)- "It was very nice, yes we're enjoying it. If I felt good, I wouldn't mind doing it again ... you never know how you'll be feeling another time." "It's a new experience all of it ... if I had the strength and energy I think I'd do it again." "Yes I would do it again if I felt that I was able to."

(f)- "Yes I'd like to do it again." "Today's events were lots of fun ... I think today was my favourite day." "Today I really enjoyed." "There are a lot of people in our group who have minor physical disabilities and for them to walk all that way ... They must find it extremely tiring."

consider the energy levels and physical abilities of the grandparents involved in shared activities. The grandchildren involved commented about their awareness of grandparents' limitations but still enjoyed their shared activities (see Table 6). Participant (a) demonstrated her understanding of her grandparents' limitations when she was discussing their attendance at her dance competition.

I know she really liked it and wanted to go. She just didn't want to go in the morning because it was too early. It takes longer for Grandmas and Grandpas to get going.

Analysis Of Shared Activity Data

The findings related to shared activity data indicate that grandparents and older grandchildren share in a variety of activities which can be grouped into activity types or clusters. In this study activities can be clustered into groups of activities. Socializing activities such as participating in family occasions were most commonly mentioned by participants. Roberto and Stroes (1992) also found that family gatherings were an important shared activity for grandparents and older grandchildren. Companionship activities such as walking together, sharing hobbies, playing games and watching television; and supporting or helping activities such as doing housework, grocery shopping, helping with the cooking or providing monetary support for fund raising efforts

or schooling were two other activity clusters noted in the data. Activities were also identified which could be grouped as entertainment related. These activities include going out for meals, attending the theatre or travelling together. An educational grouping included activities such as learning how to paint with water colours, sharing in an educational travel experience, and exploring family history together.

These activity groupings or clusters formulated from the data are summarized in Table 7 and are similar to those defined by Kennedy (1992) with some exceptions (see Table 1). He did not place attending church services in an activity cluster. The limited data presented in this study suggest that religious or spiritual activities may be categorized with socializing activities but further investigation is needed to confirm this.

Phone conversations in this study were clustered with socializing activities rather than with helping activities because the data indicated that these conversations were made to continue and build the relationship rather than to provide assistance or help as Kennedy suggested by entering them in that cluster.

Activities related to providing companionship closely resembled those found by Kennedy (1992).

Helping activities were divided by Kennedy (1992) into two clusters related to domestic and outdoor activities, and he referred to these as being helpful only to the grandparents. This study reveals that, although helping

Table 7
Activity Clusters For Grandparents and Older Grandchildren

CATEGORY	CLUSTER	ACTIVITY THEMES
Grandparent-Older Grandchild Activities	Socialization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - family gatherings - dining together - child care - phone conversations - church services
	Companionship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - watching television - walking together - sharing hobbies - playing games - recreational activities
	Support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - sharing the cooking - sharing housework - shopping together - helping to move - emotional support - monetary support
	Entertainment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - dining out - attending the theatre - community activities
	Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - skill training - family history telling - educational travel - interest/hobby education

activities in the grandparent-older grandchild relationship primarily involve the grandchildren providing help and support for the grandparents, the grandparents also provide help and support for grandchildren. These findings agree with Langer (1990) who found that, although supportive activities were reciprocal, older grandchildren gave more expressive and instrumental support to their grandparents than they received. As a result of these findings the helping activities were joined into one cluster referred to as supportive activities.

Kennedy's (1992) grandparent entertaining cluster and community events cluster were also combined into one grouping referred to as entertainment activities. The data indicate that grandparents entertain grandchildren through outings and trips, and older grandchildren also enjoy entertaining grandparents by having them attend school and/or community functions such as plays, sports activities, or competitions in which they are involved.

An educational activities cluster was identified in this study from the data indicating that activities shared were often connected to both teaching and learning. Studies by Hyde and Gibbs (1993) and Kivnick (1982) also indicate that educational activities are part of the grandparent-grandchild relationship.

The Interactive Network

Those who participated in this study had options as to who they would participate with. It was interesting that specific choices were made.

As mentioned earlier in the methodology, the grandparents or older

grandchildren were accepted into the study if they showed interest and stated they were willing to participate with their grandchild or grandparent. A total of six pairs participated at different points in the study. In four of the situations, the grandchild was the first person to inquire about the study and the grandparent was then invited to participate with them. These pairs included (b & B), (c & C), (e & E), and (f & F). In the remaining two pairs, (A & a), and (D & d), the grandparent was the first to volunteer and the grandchild was then invited to participate. Participant (A), a seventy-eight year old grandmother chose to interact with her thirteen year old granddaughter (daughter's third born grade six student).

Participant (b), a seventeen year old grade eleven male chose to interact with his maternal eighty year old grandfather.

Participant (c), a twenty-one year old female university nursing student chose to interact with her maternal eighty-two year old widowed grandfather.

Participant (D), a seventy year old grandfather chose to interact with his son's eleven year old granddaughter.

Participant (e), a thirteen year old grade seven student chose to interact with his paternal grandfather.

Participant (f), a sixteen year old grade ten student chose to interact with her seventy-one year old maternal grandmother.

In this study, four of the grandparents were grandfathers and two were grandmothers. Of the grandfathers involved, only one initiated participation in

the study (participant D). Of the two grandmothers, one initiated participation and one was invited by her sixteen year old granddaughter.

During the course of the study, participant (B) declined further involvement due to health problems. There was also some difficulty maintaining contact with participant (d) who resided in Vancouver and it was decided that it would be too costly to include her in the telephone interviews. As a result, participant pairs (B & b) and (D & d) were not interviewed.

During the interview, the following open ended question was asked to try to clarify the nature of the interactive network and how it was formed.

2) Could you share with me why it was decided that you would spend time with (grandparent/grandchild)?

The key phrases in response to the above question are summarized in Tables 8 and 9.

When exploring the data relating to the interactive network, it became clear that the grandparent-older grandchild relationship occurs within a network of other individuals. Both the grandparents and the older grandchildren naturally included or expressed the desire to include another individual of their age group into the relationship. Table 9 indicates the statements or behaviours which support having at least one generation peer present.

The grandparents, if married, naturally seemed to have their spouse equally interested in participating in the activities with their grandchild. If the spouse were deceased, as in the case of (C), there was mention of sharing

Table 8
The Interactive Network For Participants

(A)- "It's much better when they live close ... you get to know them when they're young and they get to know you ... J. [local grandchild] is quite comfortable with us." -"It's terrible because you feel that you don't know them [distant grandchildren] ... you don't see them enough ... they feel like strangers really and when you do meet them, you've not been with them enough to know what they're doing and you don't have anything in common with them."

(a)- "My mom's parents, they are more comfortable because I see them more than my dad's parents." "My other grandma , sometimes we play cards or a game like scrabble ... I'm mostly comfortable with grandmas ... although I talk with my grandpas ... but mostly we [grandmas & self] do more things together."

(C)- "My wife watched me very carefully because I was inclined to do that [be more comfortable spending time with one grandchild] ... I sort of favoured him [son's oldest boy], because he was very interested in construction and in following along in his grandfather's footsteps ... So when he went away and graduated from McGill in structural engineering it brought us closer than ever together. P.[spouse], used to remind me about [others] to make sure that I levelled out the playing field a bit ... It worked out better that way."

(c)-"My maternal grandfather [chosen to participate in the study] ... my dad's parents live in a small town ... and I've always grown up in cities ... It was a different living arrangement as far as city vs. small town ... so when I would go to see my grandparents [paternal] ... it would be hard for me to just be myself until the last little while ... It's easier now, but still my father never told me anything about what it was like to grow up when he was younger... whereas my mother told me everything so I can ask my granddad [maternal] questions whereas it's hard for me to generate conversations with my grandma and grandpa [paternal]." "I can tell my granddad anything ... we connect because I have vivid memories of nana and I love to talk about her ... and I think the fact that he and I can talk about her for hours and hours , that is another thing that connects us. Whereas my grandma and grandpa ... they are obviously very important to me but our conversations never really get that deep unless I can start by thinking of something I really want to ask or look at some pictures and generate questions from there."

(table continues)

Table 8
The Interactive Network For Participants

(E)- "[no reason why] we like to have our grandsons one at a time because we get to know them better than if they come all at the same time." "Of course the ones out west are just not around and B.'s [son's] children are older. To arrange a weekend like ... this you have to book ahead." "[distant grandchildren] We're going out the end of March. They came here last summer by themselves. I think you get to know the children better when the parents are not there."

(e)- "My grandma and grandpa [paternal], I probably see more than I talk on the phone whereas my granddad [maternal], I probably talk to him more on the phone." "My other grandparent [maternal] is really older, he's really a different person, and I feel like they show their love in different ways. He'll try to just buy me all these different presents, not that I don't like that, but they [paternal] show love in other ways and spend more time with me."

(F)- "That's hard to say because each one of them are different, and what you do with one you wouldn't do with the other maybe ... personalities are so different ... and maybe you interact with them differently ... It doesn't matter who the child belongs to ... I try not to make any differences ... I try to do that because I don't like to make the kids feel that grandma feels I'm better than so and so ... It's hard enough for kids without creating jealousy." "Maybe that's why we get along so well because we're not together all the time. It's a periodic thing."

(f)- "Actually I'm more comfortable I think with my dad's parents because we spend more time with [paternal] than [maternal]. They're really easy going whereas [maternal grandfather] is quiet and it's kind of hard to get a conversation going with him, but I like them the same. They're both about ten minutes away, but we spend more time with [paternal grandparents who are older]. We had the cottage with them so we spent a lot of time ... with them in our growing up years."

Table 9
Including Generation Peers

- (A) & (B) are husband and wife for fifty plus years and rarely participate in anything alone. Their involvement in the study was a shared vacation experience with grandchildren (a) and (b) so activities in which pairs were involved often were done together.

(C) - "decided at a very early age that we would cherish our grandchildren "; "we made it a point to see our grandchildren as often as possible"; "Millie, [good friend] and I have invited them [grandchildren] out with us on a Sunday after church."

c - "In a society that's pretty much based on being part of a couple; he really feels like he doesn't fit in a lot unless he's with someone else so I try to encourage him."

(D) - volunteered to be part of the study, but activities shared naturally involved grandma

- "We also arranged to have a younger cousin, ... who is approximately the same age ... We thought it would be good for her to have a companion of her own age for a few days ... and it provides an extra kind of a comfort level to have someone who is a peer along than with just spending every moment with her grandparents. We had made this kind of an arrangement with her older cousin ... and it worked fine so we are reproducing the same formula of a good mix of companionship with us as well as an opportunity to have some one of her own age for her friendship and companionship."

(E) - agreed to participate in the study when invited by his grandson, and Grandma naturally shared in activities as above.

" I think we had as much fun as he did." All descriptions of events utilized "we" to indicate Grandpa, Grandma, and older grandchild

(e) - "What I would like to do is ... I would like to go to their house with my brother and sister ... because it seems to me you'd have more variety of things to do."

(F)- "Oh, and I had quite a visit ... when I was sitting out there with that English lady [another senior]." " After we went over to the bookstore and ... K [a senior] ... she came with us and we were browsing."

(f)- "But more grandchildren because it's kind of tough being the only younger person ... every once in a while you need someone to go with you and just sort of be 'silly'."

activities with a close senior friend. Even when the spouse was not involved with the activity as in the case of participants (F & f), there still seemed to be natural interaction with generational peers (i.e., [F] visited with an English lady on the same trip experience, and also with another senior lady during their outing to the bookstore).

This involvement with generation peers during grandparent-older grandchild activities was not confined to the grandparent population. The grandchildren also seemed to prefer having at least one peer present. This peer was a sibling, or a relative or even a complete stranger, as in the case of participant (a) and a friend she met on vacation, and participant (f) who stated:

[should be] more grandchildren. It's kind of tough being the only younger person. Every once in a while you need someone [your own age] to go with you and just sort of be "silly."

She did not seem to mind if these younger people were strangers (i.e., grandchildren of the other elderhostel patrons), but felt that you needed to interact with your own age group part of the time.

The data supporting the involvement of generation peers in the interactive network are contained in Table 9 as mentioned earlier.

Analysis of the Interactive Network

The findings related to grandfather preferences for grandparent-older

grandchild relationships are contradictory to findings stated in the literature reviewed. In research done to date the grandmother is noted as the grandparent of choice for older grandchild interactions (Baranowski, 1984; Eisenberg, 1988; Hyde & Gibbs, 1993; Hartshorne & Manaster, 1982; Kennedy, 1992; Matthews & Sprey, 1985). In this study, when the grandchild was the one inviting the grandparent, three participants, (b), (c), and (e) (one half of the grandchild participants), chose to interact with their grandfathers, and a fourth (f) invited her grandmother to participate with her. The two remaining grandchildren (a) and (d) were asked by their grandmother and grandfather respectively to participate in the study.

Four of the grandchildren paired with maternal grandparents and two paired with paternal grandparents. However, when the interview was done with participant (f), it was clarified that, even though she had chosen to interact with her maternal grandmother for this study, she actually had a greater comfort level with her paternal grandparents. She stated:

Actually I'm more comfortable I think with my dad's parents because we spend more time with [paternal] than [maternal]. They're really easy going whereas [maternal grandfather] is quiet and it's kind of hard to get a conversation going with him, but I like them the same. They're both about ten minutes away, but we spend more time with [paternal grandparents who are older]. We had the cottage with them so we spent a lot of time with them in our growing up years.

Gershenson-Hodgson (1992) and Kennedy (1990) support the idea that frequent contact during the younger years increases the closeness of the grandparent-older grandchild relationship.

The even division of older grandchild preferences for interacting with maternal and paternal grandparents is contrary to recent studies done by Roberto and Stroes (1992) and Hyde and Gibbs (1993) which suggest the importance of maternal grandparents and particularly maternal grandmothers. Matthews and Sprey (1985) support the idea that grandchildren are closer to paternal grandparents if fathers were close to their parents, and if grandchildren had access during earlier childhood.

When grandparents were asked a similar question about choice of partner, comfort level with certain grandchildren was mentioned by (A) and (C) (see Table 8). (A) suggested that you do seem to get to know older grandchildren better when they live closer, and (C) stated that he tended to spend a lot of time initially with his son's first boy who was training for the same profession as himself, but that his wife suggested that he should "make sure that I levelled out the playing field a bit. It worked out better that way."

All grandparents indicated that the grandchild participating in the study was one of several grandchildren and that it was important to share activities with each and not to show preference. Grandparent (F) stated this clearly "It doesn't matter who the child belongs to. I try not to make any differences."

Gershenson-Hodgson (1992) mentions that geographical proximity has a

part in strengthening grandparent-older grandchild relationships, but other factors also may be significant. She suggests that closeness in the parent-child relationship and the parent-grandparent relationship also affect the closeness of grandparent-older grandchild relationships and there is a need for further study.

The preference for a generation peer in the grandparent-older grandchild relationship appeared to evolve from the desire to achieve mutual enjoyment from the activity and in consideration of activity tolerance. Participant (D) explained this in his reflections.

It provides an extra kind of a comfort level to have someone who is a peer along rather than just spending every moment with grandparents. We had made this kind of an arrangement with her older cousin and it worked fine so we are reproducing the same formula of a good mix of companionship with us as well as an opportunity to have someone of her own age for her friendship and companionship.

The interactive network formed for the grandparent-older grandchild relationships in this study appears to be determined by previous contact and frequently includes a generation peer for both the grandparent and the grandchild.

Family Functioning Concepts

Review of the initial data resulted in several clusters of information about the grandparent-older grandchild relationship. In addition to activity and

interactive network data, clusters relating to the concepts of communication, role, affect or emotional involvement, and problem solving were identified.

Recognizing these concepts as dimension concepts of family functioning, it was decided that analysis of the data would include identification and clarification of how these family functioning concepts exist within the grandparent-older grandchild relationship. As mentioned earlier the McMaster Model of Family Functioning was used for this part of the analysis.

Communication

Communication is described by Epstein, Bishop, and Baldwin (1982) in their McMaster Model of Family Functioning as:

the exchange of information within a family. Communication is also subdivided into instrumental and affective areas. Instrumental relates to issues that are mechanical in nature. Affective relates to issues of emotion or feeling.

The clear versus masked continuum focuses on whether the content of the message is clearly stated or is camouflaged, muddled or vague. The direct versus indirect continuum focuses on whether messages go to their appropriate targets or tend to be deflected to other people. We can therefore identify four styles of communication as follows: clear and direct; clear and indirect; masked and direct; masked and indirect. (p.123)

Communication data are presented for the participants in Table 10.

Table 10
Communication For Participants

(A)- " I often wonder how much they have received when we're together."
 -"We talk on the phone once in awhile."[grandchildren]
 -"With the children now I think it's more difficult [to communicate] because there is so much going on outside [the family] that there's more interest for them. I feel sometimes that they have other things to do besides talking to the old folks you know."

(a)-"We talk to them all the time on the phone ... if we can't talk to them then they won't know about anything we're doing ... She thought it was a really great accomplishment for me to have won the public speaking contest twice and it felt really good [that she said so]."
 -I think they're [grandmothers] kind of easier to talk to ... They're just nicer ... They don't get mad at you."

(c)-"You're taking off the first inch of butter granddad". (C)-"Well I like lots of butter." (c)- "Well your arteries don't." (C)-"Look my arteries have been in my body for so long." (c)- "Ya, just like your teeth." [mutual hearty laugh]
 (c)-"Why do you get so frustrated granddad?" (C)- "Oh I get mad at myself."
 (c)- " Well that's not going to do you any good is it?" (C)-"No I know it won't."
 (c)-"I can tell my granddad anything ... and I think it's also that we connect because I have vivid memories of my nana and I love to talk about her."
 (c)-"I know more about him and I feel more comfortable just saying anything to him."

(C)- "I think that a grandchild loses a lot if they haven't got the opportunity for that dialogue between the grandparent and grandson or granddaughter."
 -"Each year it is just such a great education to me, how well versed they are on community affairs and Canadian affairs and even world affairs, and we just have a great rapport driving down [to Florida] and staying in the motel together and eating together and having them down there for awhile."
 -"I call every Sunday at home and half the time, one of the grandchildren will answer the phone and I'll have a little chat with them and find out all about the rest of the kids you know."

(E)-"They [older grandchildren] don't come running and waving to Grandma and Grandpa like they did when they were small, like the little ones do ...It's a change for them and we expect this."
 -"Yes, I think you get to know the children better when the parents are not there."

(table continues)

Table 10
Communication For Participants

(E)-"What I do as each one becomes a teenager, I write them a special letter ... talking about the things that they might face, the changes, and the role of the parents ... sure, I would feel comfortable writing a letter to a granddaughter too, because it's the same issues and I have a daughter and three sisters."

- "You can be more objective with your grandchildren, because you don't have the everyday type of thing where you face the same issues that parents do."

(e)-"Whenever something happens, I always thank them over the phone ... my grandma and grandpa I probably see more than I talk on the phone, ... sometimes I just feel like calling them myself ... they really listen."

(F)-"She [f] makes me laugh once in awhile."

- "So grandchildren are each one different and maybe you interact with them differently ... I've never found that I had any problems talking to them.

Generally, some of them are more talkative than others."

"I don't know, sometimes children can speak to their grandparents about things they don't want to talk to their parents [about]."

- "Sometimes they say to their grandparents what they can't say to their parents."

(f)-"I'm open to new ideas more than I thought. I seem to be able to talk to anybody. I have a gift for gab."

- "Grandma likes to talk to everybody on the bus and find out what they're about and I'm the same way too, I like to find out what everybody's doing."

- "They [grandparents] like to have ,not recognition, but lots of interaction with their grandchildren."

- "I liked to talk to grandma at the end of the day because she'd seen things that were different from what I'd seen."

Role

The McMaster Model of Family Functioning defines family roles as "the repetitive patterns of behaviour by which family members fulfil family functions" (p.124).

The family functions that need to be fulfilled through various roles are:

1. provision of resources
2. nurture and support
3. adult sexual gratification
4. personal development
5. maintenance and management of the family system.

The participants in this study indicated that they were attempting to carry out a variety of roles (see Tables 11 through 14).

Affect

The McMaster Model refers to affective responsiveness and affective involvement as two aspects of the affect concept to be considered when looking at family function. In healthy functioning, members (grandparent and grandchild included) should display a wide range of emotion, and empathetic involvement with others in the group.

The data statements which indicated affect are summarized in Table 15.

Problem Solving

Epstein, Bishop, and Baldwin (1982) describe problem solving as it applies to the McMaster Model of Family Functioning. It refers to the ability to

Table 11
ROLE AND (A & a)

- (A)-(CHILD CARE) "I think this grandparent was doing a permanent babysitting job and it was too much for her. She really had no patience with them and it was too much for her. She was so irrational with them."
- "I liked ... the afternoon when you were out for a short while, and [a] and [brother] were with us."
- "As far as babysitting for the older ones ... I enjoyed it but it hasn't happened very much."
- (NURTURE AND SUPPORT) "I think she did real well and was very cooperative. No problems ... it was really good and she made no mistakes! Really good ... It was great."
- (TEACHING/LEARNING) "Don't you have some kind of sun shade to wear?? If you get skin cancer dear, you'll have to go get treatments on your face like I did."
- "When we've travelled with [friends] I know that if we were travelling on a Friday or a Saturday, you had to phone ahead."
- (MORAL/SPIRITUAL DIRECTION) "As far as church goes, I feel that setting an example about religion is a definite part that I should be playing, but I'm not sure that I am because of being separated and so far away."
- (SHARING ACTIVITIES AND VISITATION) "The art show in the park ... I'd like that and I think maybe she'd like that too ... we could walk down together and look at all the art and especially the crafts."
- "If we could visit more often I would like that ... It's just you have to think about the age ... I'd like to spend more time ... but I'd like it as a come and go, I don't feel able to have them for any length of time."
- (CARRY OUT GRANDPARENT ROLE) "Well, I think because, I never had a grandparent, I don't know what to do myself ... Every grandchild is different and how do you treat each one?"
-
- a-(SHARING ACTIVITIES AND VISITATION) "I liked grandma watching me ... I'm glad she came." "Grandma stayed here with us for a week ... It was good".
- (CARRY OUT GRANDCHILD ROLE)- "I think I should spend time with them all [grandparents] ... my grandmas really like it and they want to spend time with me and with my sister and brothers ... If they don't how can they know what's going on with their grandchildren."
- "My grandma is just really worried about everything ... so you have to be sure to say everything that you are allowed to do." "when they get to be grandparents, they spoil their grandkids ... well that's what it seems like."
-

Table 12
ROLE AND (C & c)

C-(NURTURE AND SUPPORT)-" We used to do that together, [P.] and I; but since her death, I have every year, sent cash to each of my grandchildren and a little card with a little encouraging note, maybe a little blandish at times, but all with the idea to keep that understanding and encouragement flowing to my grandchildren, to keep it alive so to speak."

- "This is just my opinion and I may be wrong, but of all the enjoyment I've had in my 83 years on this planet, I grant the times I've spent with my grandchildren have been very, very, well spent."

-"And believe me it was a very happy day for all of us to go down to her graduation ... she graduated in pediatric medicine."

-"Each year as the grandchildren grow up and mature ... our understanding one to the other has become closer and its certainly a joy to advise them if they come for advice and to congratulate them on every achievement they make."

- (TEACHING/LEARNING)"You should watch your eyes and take care of them."

-(MORAL/SPIRITUAL INVOLVEMENT)"In my growing up days, of course our activities were confined to the church and to the young peoples'... That's one thing in both families that I'm not very happy with. The children were brought up when they were younger to go to church with us, but when they were on their own, they've sort of forgotten the church ... the churches have lost that touch with the children and especially with the teenagers."

-(CARRY OUT GRANDPARENT ROLE) "My grandparents were in Scotland when I was born and I saw them once when I was two years old ... I think we missed a lot. In fact I know we missed a lot and both my wife and I decided at a very early age that we would cherish our grandchildren ... we made it a point to see our grandchildren as often as possible even though four of them were in Calgary, Alberta."

-(PROVISION OF RESOURCES) "We were very fortunate financially to be able to furnish a Canada Savings Bond ... to every one of our grandchildren every Christmas."

-(PROVISION OF BREAK FROM PARENTS) " Both my wife and I decided that when each of our grandchildren reached the age of twelve years, during the school break, they were invited to come down alone without their parents so that we could have a week or so to get used to each other again."

-(PROVISION OF FAMILY AND LIVING HISTORY)"I think she's [aunt] 75 ... she's well read, she's an excellent piano player. She's excellent at characters ... I've got a framed picture of Winston Churchill ... which is priceless."

-[link to parents] "Remind your mother that I took her to the first showing of the Wizard of Oz when she was five or six."

(table continues)

Table 12
ROLE AND (C & c)

c-(SHARING ACTIVITIES AND VISITATION) -"We do have contact with him on a regular basis and then we'll each go and see him on our own."

- "He comes down to our house every Sunday for dinner and sometimes on Wednesday."

c-(TREASURE MEMORIES) "I still have all the cards you [grandparents] sent me when we lived in Calgary. I have everything. I even have one from nana ... early ... when we were organizing to come down to Florida."

- "I still have mine. You got me one for my sixteenth birthday."

c-(UNDERSTANDING GRANDPARENT ROLE) "Mom and dad ... they say 'I love you' and it's silently understood, but grandparents are always the ones that spoil you."

- "He runs the house when he's here but that's fine because we know that's what's going to happen when he comes."

- "He spends so much time alone ... when he is with someone else, his main focus just to talk, so he tends to focus on the past a lot."

(ADVOCATE AND HEALTH PROMOTER) - "A lot of what we tend to do is ... to help him with activities of daily living, like going to the doctor, going to the pharmacy, or going to get his cleaning and groceries ... he's legally blind but he's still quite active ... like his phone bill ... we just go over them and he writes out the cheques."

- "He's still very active in our lives so there's a focus of keeping him healthy and active."

- "I try to encourage him to go out and get some exercise."

- "He's terrible with butter, I won't let my mom put it on the table."

- "I was watching ... and I'd see him sometimes trying to sneak in one [drug] that he forgot in the morning ... so I'm always grabbing the CPS to see what's in there about the drug."

-(TEACHING/LEARNING) "He had a lot of really great, I mean difficult but great life experiences as far as the depression ... you may hear the same story a couple of times but he tells things and if he tells you again, it is in the exact same form so you know that what he's saying first has significance to him and secondly is such a true vivid memory that it suddenly comes alive for you ... I think my biggest role is to listen and to learn and to just make him important for the time that we're together."

Table 13
ROLE AND (E & e)

E-(CHILD CARE) "Our daughter's children are six and under so we probably see them more because we're looking after them to give their parents a break."

- "We don't feel that we should be interfering with what their parents are doing."

E-(NURTURE AND SUPPORT) "What I do as each one becomes a teenager, I write them a special letter ... talking about the things that they might face, the changes, and the role of the parents."

-(TEACHING/LEARNING) "I put him to work ... so he helped me ... then on Sunday morning we put the cement on."

- "I [grandma] showed him some of my art books ... he started to do a water colour painting ... we're going to finish it later on."

- "He [e] taught me [grandmother] how to make french toast."

- (CARRY OUT GRANDPARENT ROLE) "We like to have our grandsons over."

- "I [grandma] did a lot [interaction] with one set of my grandparents ... we went over there every weekend."

- "My [grandpa's] grandmother lived quite a bit longer ... I used to see her quite a bit ... she used to write me once in a while and send me a dollar for stamps."

-(PROVISION OF BREAK FROM PARENTS) "We were very happy to have our grandson spend the weekend with us."

- "I think you get to know the children better when the parents are not there."

-(PROVISION OF FAMILY AND LIVING HISTORY) "visited his great grandmother who is in a nursing home."

- "I'm still in the position where we have the most space to have everybody come for Christmas and most of the occasions ... I think somebody needs to keep the family together."

- "The role of passing on as much as you can the extra experience that grandparents have had."

- "[Grandma's] mother is ninety-four ... I take them to see her just the same because she enjoys seeing them ... that was really quite an insight for him [seeing great grandma]."

- "Every morning when I'm there, I talk about my dad and they talk about my dad and all the funny things that happened."

e-(SHARING ACTIVITIES AND VISITATION) "I keep in touch ... Usually around the holidays it's more than not [visitation]."

- "My grandma and grandpa, I probably see more."

(table continues)

Table 13
ROLE AND (E & e)

(GRANDCHILD ROLE)"They consider just spending time with them ... I think that's really important for them."

-"My other grandparent is really old ... He'll just buy me all these different presents, not that I don't like that, but they [E and spouse] spend more time with me."

-(TEACHING/LEARNING)"I learned that grandma's taking an art course and that grandpa and grandma are teaching an art course."

-"I learned about my extended family and the other people that are in my family."

Table 14
ROLE AND (F & f)

F-(CHILD CARE) "When they [parents] couldn't go, I've given them a ride or picked them up at school ... I've been a substitute mother on occasion."

-(NURTURE AND SUPPORT) "Sometimes the children agree with the grandparents and sometimes they say to their grandparents what they can't say to their parents."

"I try to make them see that I care about them."

-(TEACHING/LEARNING) "She seems to be learning new things."

"Yes, I think I've learned that there is a lot of things that you can do together."

"[f], and myself as well, we gained a lot. We didn't know what all went on in the media."

"I think she understood older people better ... She got an idea of what they were like because there were no younger people to talk to."

-(SHARING ACTIVITIES AND VISITATION) "I go to whatever they ask me to go to; you know, if they have a play or something."

"I think you're much more involved with your own children than you are with your grandchildren, because they have their parents."

"They never forget that ... if you play with them [games]."

-(PROVISION OF RESOURCES) "I bought some grapefruit to help with her band trip. I buy from the other kids too ... [f] came and cleaned windows to support a school project."

-(UNDERSTANDING THE GRANDCHILD ROLE) "She's been very helpful, if I need a hand she gives it to me ... She even helped with some of the others."

"I noticed she can get along with older people. Some younger people can't."

-(PROVISION OF LIVING AND FAMILY HISTORY) "Some things in the old days you wanted to know about, and you knew your mother didn't [know], you might ask them [grandparents]."

"People don't realize until they get older that they would like to know about the olden days. But their grandparents are gone and they never thought to ask them when they were alive."

f- (SHARING ACTIVITIES AND VISITATION) "Grandma has somewhat the same interests as myself. We both want to go and explore the bookstore."

"Grandma had never had frozen yogurt before and so she had strawberry frozen yogurt ... she also tried cappuccino ... and pumpernickel bread ... I think maybe I gave her a little prod so that she would try something new and different."

-(CARRY OUT THE GRANDCHILD ROLE) "Making sure that you let your grandparents know that they are appreciated."

"Looking out for them. You kind of feel that you are protecting them sometimes."

-(LIVING AND FAMILY HISTORY) "They'd like to tell you stories, and it's really funny because they're really relevant ... they'd say 'Well when I was a teenager', but it still applies."

"They're a lot of fun to be with."

Table 15
Affective Involvement For Participants

(A)-"We have a good time with [local grandchildren]."

- "I'm really enjoying it [dance competition] ... and I'm really enjoying watching her."

- "We enjoyed the show together ... the horse show and the rooster race with the children, and especially the pig race."

- "We walked on the beach and [a] and I found some shells for her project. I think she was pleased."

- "She would really enjoy the weekend of July 1st ... I'd like that and I think maybe she'd like that too, or the crafts, she would probably enjoy seeing the crafts."

(a)- "Grandma and I were laughing because it was so fancy ... and we were laughing about the ..."

- "It was good. We went to the store together and I helped her make supper."

- "When they were parents, they were strict like all parents, and then when they get to be grandparents they spoil their grandkids ... they're just nicer and they don't discipline like parents. They don't get mad at you."

(C) - "My grandchildren ... they make me feel rather important when I come in for dinner or come up from the south ... [c] gives up her bed for granddad ... these are the things that make you feel important at a time in life when we're entering the last days on this planet and still getting that respect and a good handshake from the boys and a kiss from the girls. It just makes you step along a little livelier."

- "I grant that the times spent with my grandchildren have been very well spent."

- "It's certainly a joy for me to have the opportunity to check their progress."

(c) - "You can't force a relationship [with grandparent]. You can hope and I think you're lucky if it does. I mean even if you spend once a week with your grandparent, I think you can learn a lot ... You become a more patient person, a more well rounded person."

- "Granddad has a great sense of humour and we can tease him a lot, and we do. He's excellent, he really is."

- "I still have a lot of memories of her [nana], but they [brothers and sister] don't, and that was his truest greatest love, so to hear about her, it sort of still lets her live for my brothers and sister, and I think that's important."

(E)- "We were very happy to have our grandson spend the weekend with us ... I think we had as much fun as he did."

- "He did it [painting] very well."

- "We're still not too old that we can't enjoy having children around."

(table continues)

Table 15
Affective Involvement For Participants

(E)-"So he made his great grandmother very happy too."
 -"So that was the first time we'd done that [babysitting] and we really enjoyed it."
 -"It's funny how you often think back and think 'I know how she feels' or you just think back how you felt."

(e)-"I really liked going [with grandma and grandpa]."
 -"I don't have to be with my [immediate] family to have fun."
 -"My grandpa and I stayed at the house and worked because I liked doing that."
 -"I feel like, well, they show their love in different ways. He'll [older grandfather], buy me all these different presents, not that I don't like that."
 -"My mom encourages me to call [maternal grandfather] and I probably talk to him on the phone more."
 -"Sometimes I just feel like calling them [grandparents]."

(F)-"So that day [friend] came I was glad so she could tear right along ... I felt I held her back a bit because of my incapacity to walk."
 -"I try to make them see that I care about them."

(f)-"I think we share a lot of the same characteristics."
 -"We've been a little tired because neither one of us slept very well last night and we almost fell asleep in class" [mutual laugh].
 -"It's all very nice. Yes we're enjoying it."
 -"We're both easy going and kind of go with the flow."
 -"I guess that's something that grandma and I have in common, both of us have trouble with our knees. Our knees don't like us very well. They tend to yell at us once in a while when we've done too much walking" [laughing together].
 -"She's [grandma] adventuresome. She's not afraid to try something new."
 -"Sharing our talents, and singing songs together often brings you closer together, and that made you feel more like one among family and friends."

resolve problems to a level that maintains effective family functioning. They further describe seven steps to effective problem solving:

1. Identifying the problem.
2. Communicating with appropriate people about the problem.
3. Developing a set of possible solutions
4. Deciding on one of the alternatives.
5. Monitoring to ensure that the action is carried out.
6. Monitoring to ensure that the action is carried out.
7. Evaluating the effectiveness of the problem-solving process. (p.119)

Effective problem solving is confirmed when all of the steps have been carried out.

In this study, participants (A), (C), (c), (E), (e), (F), (f), provided data indicating problem solving occurred, but there were insufficient data to determine if all seven stages were completed (see Table 16).

Control

The McMaster Model of Family Functioning defines control concept as The pattern a family adopts for handling behaviour in three areas: physically dangerous situations; situations that involve the meeting and expressing of psychobiological needs and drives; and situations involving interpersonal socializing behaviour both between family members and with people outside the family. (p.128)

The styles for behaviour control are clarified as rigid, flexible, laissez-

Table 16
Problem Solving For Participants

(A)- "I said I didn't know that was coming up and I didn't ask your mom ... Well then I came up with the idea of asking [friend's parent]. I didn't want them over there alone and I didn't know whether I wanted to go over there and sit or not ... well she phoned and her mother went over with them so it was alright."

(a)-"I would help them if they needed me to help them with a problem but I don't know if I would go to them with my problems. It depends on whether it's a really bad problem."

(C)-"I try to do my best in that way [assist with family difficulties] ... I like to be part of the family discussions and problem solving. It gives me great satisfaction in knowing that perhaps they're listening to me and therefore helping to keep the family going."

(C & c) -"For some reason, she [friend M] used to be a very good friend of J. and A. [older brother and wife] ... and when I started to be a friend of M's, all of a sudden A., my own brother A., resents it. (c)-"Did you ask him why? ... He should be happy. Does she not spend as much time with them any more?" ... (C)-"J. won't talk to her unless A. is out of the apartment. ... You'd think we were doing a terrible thing by keeping company."

(c)-"That's ridiculous."

(c) -"He's very able to keep in touch with us and then when we have problems he can relate it to things that happened in his life."

(E)-"You always have to hope that,when the time comes that they can use that type of information, that they remember [the letter grandpa writes] ... We hope they keep the letter."

- "I can remember ... you'd tell them things and you'd wonder whether it sunk in ... and you could see it coming up later when they have their own children."

- "Well, [in that letter I] ... try to help them understand what they're going through and where their conflicts are at this time when they're gradually developing from a boy into a man and looking for their freedom and yet hoping that there's someone there to protect them too ... trying to explain in hopes that they will avoid some of the problems ... whether they will or not??? So far everything has been fine."

- "They know if they have a problem, certainly they can come to us."

(e)-"Whenever I'm talking to them [grandparents about problems], they really listen to me but whenever I talk to my parents, they have little comments and I'm not sure if they're really listening to me, but they probably are."

(table continues)

Table 16
Problem Solving For Participants

(F)-"Any time any of us old people got to a place where we could sit down, we sat down ... I'm not as young as I used to be and I can't go as far as I used to without playing out ... she probably should have a more energetic person with her."

- "I think they're [grandparents] someone ... if you need to consult you consult, and if you don't, you don't."

- "I'm not a solver of problems. I can't even solve my own."

(f)-"It's a lot of walking for them [seniors] ... could provide the same learning opportunities without so much walking or maybe more breaks."

- "Maybe more grandchildren, because it's kind of tough being the only younger person."

- "I would have two choices for the people going on these tours ... a video ... so they don't have to walk ... and then the second choice ... take the tour."

- "But she made the best of it, she really did. She made him feel comfortable and she had a conversation with him and tried to put up with his 'quirkiness'."

- "Not really [wouldn't take problems to grandparents], because they're a lot like your parents and they would ask me 'Do your parents know about this?' and then it won't be between us."

faire, and chaotic with flexible being the style appropriate for effective family functioning. Data indicating how control is present in the grandparent-older grandchild relationship are listed in the Table 17.

Interpretation of Family Functioning Concepts

Communication

Of the four participant pairs that were in the second level of the study, (C & c) were the only ones noted to consistently have clear, direct communication. This grandchild (21 years) and grandparent (83 years) were the oldest participants in the study and had identified that they had been developing their relationship for some time. For an example of this clear direct communication see Table 10.

With content analysis, all other participants were found to be clear with their messages presented, but varied with their directness. (A) was clearly indirect with messages communicated towards (a) during this study, but this may be because the middle generation was in close proximity during the grandparent-grandchild interactions. This mediation through the parents was also found by Matthews and Sprey (1985) when they explored adolescent relationships with grandparents. Participant pairs (E) and (e) and (F) and (f) varied in their directness. At times the data indicated that messages were direct to the intended party, but it was also noted that at times messages were

Table 17
Control For Participants

(A)- "Old grandparents can't handle grandchildren for too long. L. [mother] just brings them for two hours and then she comes and picks them up. We can handle that."

- "The unplanned thing about that is that they [grandchildren] wanted to go with this other little girl ... and I said 'I don't know, I didn't ask your mom, what you can do and I don't know whether you can go or not'."

(a)- "No they're [grandparents] not really strict. My grandma is just really worried about everything ... so you have to be sure to say everything that you are allowed to do." " They don't discipline like parents. They don't get mad at us."

(c)- "If she [small child] was mine, granddad wouldn't be having me down here for the spring break."

- "He sort of runs the house when he's here, but that's fine because we know that's going to happen."

(E)- "I don't think that we would expect to control them in any way, unless circumstances changed [with parents] ... I think it's more being there if they need us, and hoping that they will respect us enough to come to us if and when they need to."

(e)- "They don't really have any discipline for me. That's what I like, because they give me responsibility but more freedom."

(F)- "No I try not to make any differences between grandchildren. I don't like to see jealousy among children."

(f)- "There are certain things that you won't go out and do becauseyou think 'What would grandpa and grandma think?'"

mediated indirectly through the parent generation.

The only research article found which discussed communication between young adults and grandparents looked at vocal qualities during interaction. Montepare, Steinberg, and Rosenberg (1992) found that older grandchildren's voices were generally higher in pitch and sounded more babyish, feminine, and unpleasant when conversing with grandparents as opposed to parents. Although interesting, this research, was not applicable to the current study because all data involving interaction were taped and voice patterns were not assessed.

The McMaster Model of Family Functioning suggests that the most effective communication pattern would be clear and direct, as in the case of (C) and (c), followed by clear and indirect, then masked and direct, and finally masked and indirect. Since examples given for all participants fall into the first two patterns, communication for these grandparent-older grandchild family members can be considered effective, although evaluation over a longer time period would be helpful to determine if these identified patterns are consistent or vary with circumstance.

Role

All eight participants clearly indicated their roles in visitation and activity sharing, but this is noted as inevitable because of the nature of the study. Part of the requirement to participate was that they would share activities. However, when asked, all participants readily referred to previous shared activities.

Kennedy (1992) reports that shared activity is an established contributor to role satisfaction for grandparents.

When grandparent roles were mentioned by (A) and (C), it was made clear that neither senior had known a grandparent to role model after. (C) had made a decision early in life to define and carry out grandparent roles. (A) stated that she felt inadequate as a grandparent and was continuing to carefully explore her roles with the presence and approval of the middle generation. (E) and (F) both related previous experience with their own grandparents and a greater comfort level with their current grandparent role.

All of the grandparents mentioned enjoying child care responsibilities either presently or in the past. Hyde and Gibbs (1993) mention this role as being a significant one especially for the grandmother. In terms of fulfilling family functions, child care contributes to provision of resources as does providing educational funds, supporting fund raisers, and gift giving.

All of the grandparents demonstrated that teaching and/or learning was an important role for them. (C), (E), and (F) considered the role of providing family and living history as a significant part of teaching. This passing on of family background and educating the grandchild could be part of the personal development function although not stated as such in the McMaster Model. This personal growth seemed to be expressed in the data not only through the satisfaction of the senior presenting the information, but also through the grandchildren, particularly (c) and (e). (c) clearly indicated the impact of her

grandfathers' living history stories in her statement:

He tells you things, and if he tells you again, it is in the exact same form, so you know that what he's saying first has significance to him and secondly is such a true vivid memory that it suddenly comes alive for you....I think my biggest role is to listen and to learn and to just make him important for the time that we're together.

Providing moral/spiritual direction also contributes to the personal development function of the family, and was indicated as important to participants (A) and (C). Existing literature by Roberto and Stroes (1993) suggests that this role is primarily one attributed to the grandmother, but in this study, participant (C) is male and certainly seemed equally interested in the spiritual well-being of teenagers.

The grandchild role of treasuring memories allows for the personal development of the grandparent, while the advocate and health promotion roles support health-related maintenance functions.

The fact that all grandparents in the study and all grandchildren do not seem to adhere to consistent sets of roles may be partially attributed to role allocation and role accountability within the family. The four pairs of grandparents and grandchildren collectively present a conglomerate of roles which can be attributed to various family functions but there is no evidence of role consistency for either the grandparent or grandchild. Another question then arises as to whether or not this lack of consistent role allocation for both

the grandparent and the grandchild has anything to do with society's lack of expectation for these family members.

Affect

A lot of positive affect (referred to as welfare emotions) was demonstrated by participants. These included, love, humour, pleasure/enjoyment, pride, happiness, gladness/joy, closeness and feeling adventuresome. A couple of emergency emotions expressed by (F) and (f) were tiredness and pain.

In order to assess affective involvement of the participant pairs, more data would have been helpful, but both grandparents and grandchildren gave some indication of empathetic involvement. The McMaster model suggests that this means that there is interest/involvement in each other for the sake of the others in the family.

(E) gave the best example of this in describing the letter that he writes to his grandchildren as they become teenagers in order to attempt to ease the turmoil, often associated with teen years, for the grandchild as well as the larger family.

Although the affective involvement is not clear for all participant pairs, it is clear that there is positive affective responsiveness which contributes to healthy family functioning of these members.

Problem Solving

(a) mentioned that she would try to help her grandparents solve

problems but did not give any reference examples.

Participants (A & a) and (F & f) indicated working on problems that were specific to the grandparent-older grandchild relationship and were instrumental in nature, (i.e., solving child care difficulty, or working out options for tours so the grandparent would not get so tired). In these situations solutions were reached and there was indication that more of the problem-solving steps had been met.

With participants (C & c), and (E & e), attempts at problem solving concerning relationships (grandfather and friend) and difficulties during the teen years seemed to be in progress rather than resolved and also affected other family members rather than being confined to the grandparent-older grandchild relationship. It is important to note that the communication related to these problems or potential problems was open and direct and the appropriate problem solving steps appeared to be in progress.

Control

Grandparent participants in this study did not want to have control over their older grandchildren. They indicated that they felt that was the domain of the parents. (E) stated it clearly:

I don't think that we would expect to control them in any way, unless circumstances changed [with parents]. I think it's more being there if they need us, and hoping that they will respect us enough to come to us if and when they need to.

This being prepared to counsel and hoping that their grandchildren will come to them is hinting at flexibility.

This flexibility does not mean that the grandparent does not have a degree of control over the grandchildren. (a) indicated that she felt that grandma must be made aware of what she is allowed to do so she won't worry so much. Both (c) and (f) felt bound to certain moral behaviour because of what their grandparents would think of them if they engaged in inappropriate behaviour.

There did not seem to be any indication that the grandchildren had any control over grandparents' behaviour in the data, but an interview of the grandchildren exploring role expectations for the grandparent might suggest that in fact they do have some control over behaviour particularly in the area of spoiling.

Having looked at the concepts of communication, role, affect, problem solving, and control as they exist in the grandparent-older grandchild relationships in this study, there is evidence that this relationship does have potential to contribute to healthy family functioning. A summary of the family functioning concepts is contained in Table 18.

Supporting Community Social Programs

The final question that was asked during the interview was:

Table 18
Family Functioning Concepts

CATEGORY	CONCEPT CLUSTERS	THEMES
Family Functioning	Communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - pleasureable interactions - difficulty with distance - clear versus unclear - direct versus indirect
	Roles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - child care - teaching/learning - visitation - role expectations - nurture and support - moral/spiritual - family & living history
	Problem Solving	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - identifying problem - communication - possible solutions - deciding options - monitoring action - evaluating
	Affect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - positive welfare emotions - emergency emotions
	Control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - lack of discipline - flexible behaviour control

If you had an opportunity to plan for community programs that would encourage shared activity with your (grandparent/ grandchild), what might you suggest?

Key phrases from responses to this final question are contained in Table

19.

Interpretation of Findings Related to Supporting Community Programs

It was very interesting to note that when asked about community support, participants stated that they would like assistance with doing things that they normally enjoy doing, or need to do, that they would not mind doing with grandparents or grandchildren. They also mentioned that participation in these activities would be dependent on mutual enjoyment and interest. This expectation of mutual gain from shared time is not unusual in a post modern society and certainly should be considered when asking for volunteers to help the youth or the seniors in our society.

Also of interest was the fact that these participants were not asking for assistance from the community that was difficult or involved. For instance, (C), (F), and (E)'s spouse all expressed an interest in facilitating family gatherings. It was suggested that it would be helpful for communities to provide assistance

Table 19**Community and Social Programs Mentioned By Participants**

(A)-"If they just come here to the house, I wouldn't know what to do with them to entertain them. It's always nice when things are going on like activities in the town. They have the street fair, and there's the weekend of the first of July ... at the park. That's the art show and there's lots of crafts. That would be a good weekend for them to come down and there's lots for them to see and do ... We go walking. We might as well go walking at the arts and craft show."

(a)-"We could take trips together. When we went to Myrtle Beach together, I had a school project to do, [a room of the future] and grandma helped me and that worked out really well. We could do that again."

- "We like to go on walks together."

- "Playing cards, grandma taught me how to play Euchre. We could do that."

- "And knitting, I'm learning how to knit. She could help me with that."

(C)-"In my growing up days, of course our activities were confined to the church life and the young people. I think it served a twofold purpose [acquired moral values and brought family members together]."

- "On a Sunday after church we could go for lunch, or zip down to Niagara on the Lake."

- "Encourage family get togethers."

(c)-"I think the idea of adopt a grandparent for those who don't have a grandparent or have extra time to spend with the elderly is a great idea."

- "A program that helps grandchildren become involved with caretaking. I had a difficult time, but I think I succeeded in trying to teach my granddad how to cook some things. So even if you had a program with activities of daily living and went with your grandchild, and it promoted walking down to the grocery store to do a little shopping."

- "Any things that are going to give you time with your grandparents, and help them in the long run ... Teaching them some pertinent activities or skills."

- "Oh yeah, and travelling together, depending on the age of your grandparent, you have to prepare yourself that this isn't going to be the usual ... going out and having a great time. I think you just have to realize that this is going to be a vacation that involves you, not taking care of, but very much involved with the daily living of your grandparent. If you know that ahead of time, and you really want to foster the relationship, I think it's an excellent idea. Oh excellent."

(table continues)

Table 19
Community Social Programs Mentioned By Participants

(E)-"I have mixed feelings about too much organization ... But I suppose there are some in some relationships where it would be a good thing and it would be a good thing for us too."

- "I don't know whether you're aware, but there's an organization called Elderhostel, and they have some programs where you can take your grandchildren" [explanation of participants F & f's elderhostel] ... That would be interesting."

(E)'s spouse- "We have a family reunion every summer and we always take the grandchildren there. Now they're quite upset because we're not having it any more. My cousin, whose place we used, couldn't have it anymore so that would be good, if they [community] could allow use of halls or parks for family reunions."

- "Theatre days for a grandparent/ grandchild performance would be good."

- "I'd love to take my grandchildren on a trip."

(e)-"I'd like it so we could do the things we like to do, artwork with grandma, woodworking with grandpa."

(F)-"You know what they've done already. They've had school children go into the nursing homes and talk to the older people about their lives before they came into the nursing home, so they would know what happened when those people were youngand it pleases the older people to be talking about it ... It would be nice to encourage that kind of thing for grandparents and grandchildren."

- "I tried to get my grandmother to show me how to knit and the other grandma could show them how to crochet."

- "The family picnics. It's nice for the younger people to get together and we could watch the younger ones."

- "Games like shuffleboard and bowling. The bowling is something that is healthy and it's good for the kids."

(f)-"Oh yes, I would like to repeat an elderhostel, and just have a few more kids my own age. You could have the seniors do something and the kids do something and then come back together, just so long as there's still that interaction there."

- "The senior centre in T. could have activities like a grandma and granddaughter banquet or a grandpa and grandson meal. And they have cards and lawn bowling, and you know, kids could lawn bowl and they might really enjoy it."

- "Maybe a curling tournament because I know a lot of seniors curl and I curled for three years and I really liked it. So I think it would be kind of neat to have an intergenerational team maybe."

- "I know grandpa B. really likes to fish, so we could fish at lake L. and have grandparents go out with us in our canoe. Have a derby or something."

for contacting family members and to making community parks and halls available for "family day"?

(F), (f), (a), (c) and (e), all felt that any program that promoted playing games together or learning crafts or skills together would be great. (f) even suggested that the high school or the local seniors' centre might be the place to carry out these activities.

(a), (c), (E), (E)'s spouse, and (f) indicated that a travel experience shared with their grandparent or older grandchild would be worth while. Elderhostel was mentioned by (E) and when the shared experience of participants (F) and (f) was explained, interest was expressed for promotion of this type of shared activity.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary

This phenomenological qualitative research was designed and carried out to attempt to answer the question:

What functional patterns are in place when grandparents interact with older grandchildren?

Grandparents and older grandchildren were asked to share activities together and then audiotape a diary account of their shared experiences. A pilot study, with two participant pairs, clarified the final research question and confirmed the approach taken. A total of six grandparent-older grandchild pairs initially participated, and sentence/phrase analysis of their audiotapes led to the development of four questions. Open ended interview questions were developed from these four questions and asked of the remaining pairs in the study. Two pairs were removed during the year in which the study was carried out. Sentence/phrase analysis of the combined data was summarized in tables and interpretation was attempted with reference to the related existing literature.

This study was designed and carried out in an attempt to address a problem:

The problem in this study involves exploring the dynamics of intergenerational relationships between grandparents and older

grandchildren which need to be explored in order to gain insight into functional patterns that are deemed to be beneficial.

Contemplation of this problem led to the development of the research question.

As the initial data were analyzed, four other questions were developed for clarification. These questions were:

1. What do grandparents and older grandchildren choose to do together?
2. With whom did participants in the study choose to interact?
3. How does the intergenerational exchange between grandparents and older grandchildren affect family functioning?
4. Do grandparents and older grandchildren support the idea of having social programs in their communities which encourage intergenerational activities?

Conclusions

After exploration and attempted interpretation of the findings, it is clear that grandparents and older grandchildren do get together and participate in various activities. These activities can be grouped into clusters related to socialization, companionship, support, entertainment, and education. With the exception of the last two clusters, Kennedy (1992) previously identified and named these clusters.

The clarification and reformulation of these activity clusters could be utilized to plan for and attempt to implement familial intergenerational activities. The activity clusters formulated during this study await further research to establish reliability.

When considering the choice of activity in which to share, this study revealed that not only is it valid to choose an activity for the mutual enjoyment and satisfaction to be gained, but also in consideration of activity tolerance especially for the grandparent(s). No research was found which mentioned this conclusion.

When the interactive network was explored, the gender involvement of the grandparent population was different in this study than in others already completed. More grandfathers were involved in this study than grandmothers. Baranowski (1984), Hartshorne and Manaster (1982), Hyde and Gibbs (1993), Kennedy (1992), Matthews and Sprey (1985), and Roberto and Stroes (1992) have all indicated the opposite, with more grandmothers being involved with grandparent-older grandchild interactions. It raises the issue of considering both genders in planning community intergenerational events and utilizing further studies to confirm or disprove gender preferences in these relationships.

In this study, there was a clear preference to attempt to share activities with at least one generation peer present for both the grandparent and the grandchild. No research was found that discussed involving these generation peers, but the fact that all participants of this study expressed and/or included a

generation peer warrants further investigation.

The greater involvement of female grandchildren in this study is in agreement with the findings of Kennedy (1992). The grandchildren in this study initially tended to interact with maternal grandparents which is what previous studies have found (Baranowski, 1984; Hartshorne & Manaster, 1982; Kennedy, 1990, 1992; Matthews & Sprey, 1985). However, when the interviews were done, one of the grandchildren indicated that she interacted more frequently and was more comfortable with her paternal grandparents. This made the lineage preferences equal for both maternal and paternal grandparents. The reasons stated for preferences for maternal or paternal grandparent interactions were frequency of contact during childhood, as well as more frequent contact presently.

As a result of these conflicting findings, it can be concluded that more research is necessary, particularly of a qualitative nature to clarify lineage and sex preferences and the desire to have generational peers present for grandparent-older grandchild interactions.

When the dimension concepts of family functioning were explored for the study pairs, it was discovered that these relationships have potential to contribute to healthy family functioning. Using the McMaster Model of Family Functioning, participants in grandparent-older grandchild relationships were assessed to have clear and either direct or indirect communication patterns, and a variety of roles which contribute to necessary family functions. Although

researchers have looked at a variety of roles and role satisfaction for these two populations, no one has looked at expectation of role consistency or role accountability for them (Baranowski, 1984; Hyde & Gibbs, 1993; Kennedy, 1990; Roberto & Stroes, 1992).

They are also capable of both affective and instrumental problem solving and demonstrate a wide range of positive, empathic, affective response. Although grandparents do not wish to have control of grandchildren, they do seem to exert some control over interpersonal socializing behaviour inside and outside the family. Similarly, grandchildren were not found to have any direct control over grandparents, but there is a suggestion that some indirect control related to living up to grandchild expectations of roles such as spoiling of grandchildren exists and this needs further investigation.

The positive results of this family functioning assessment were not supported anywhere in existing research literature. If these relationships can be studied further, with the inclusion of the parent population, and still indicate that there are positive outcomes for family functioning, then it would seem appropriate to pursue and encourage the development of these relationships. Again, further investigation to confirm these findings is suggested.

When given opportunity to suggest community programs that would support the relationship, respondents suggested activities that they would normally like to participate in, but lack the facilities or resources to do so. Assistance for family gatherings such as reunion picnics, and organized outings

for grandparents and older grandchildren were mentioned more frequently. It can be concluded that community planners could attempt to facilitate the relationship between grandparents and older grandchildren through such simple actions as publicizing a local park for grandparent-grandchild day or family reunion day.

Implications

The findings and conclusions drawn from this study have implications for family and community development, for expansion of intergenerational theory, and for future research studies.

Implications for Practice

From a personal perspective, this pioneering study has led the researcher to explore the relationships existing in her own family between grandparents and teen grandchildren. The findings and conclusions are positive reinforcement for the researcher and others to encourage and facilitate where possible intergenerational exchanges between these two populations.

Social scientists and community planners should be inspired by the results of this study to further investigate this valuable relationship and support development and piloting of programs and activities which encourage it.

In education, realizing the value of this relationship could inspire program planners to investigate possibilities for linking family generations in the

classroom setting especially for programs related to the sociology of aging or lifespan development.

In health care, encouragement of grandparent interactions could potentially expand the support network for seniors and in fact contribute to health promotion for both generations.

Implications for Intergenerational Theory Development

Intergenerational experts have demonstrated that intergenerational exchanges can be beneficial to those participating, and can meet the needs of the youth and/or the elderly involved. However, as mentioned at the beginning of this study, they continue to be frustrated by the lack of sufficient numbers of volunteers and the inconsistent demonstration that attitudes towards the elderly can change positively with involvement in these exchanges.

If further research can add to the results of this study, there is a potential for increased participation in intergenerational exchanges because of increased numbers of individuals realizing the value of the grandparent-older grandchild relationship. Attitudes towards the elderly, especially those expressed by youth also could potentially change and the interdependence of generations realized. Intergenerational theorists need to consider these possibilities and encourage further research to expand on the hypothesis that familial grandparent-older grandchild interactions could contribute positively to intergenerational program development.

Implications for Further Research

This study was designed as an exploratory initial attempt to qualitatively look at the interaction between grandparents and older grandchildren. As a result, several questions are raised that need further investigation. Some of these questions include:

1. How important is it to consider generational peers when planning interactions for grandparents and older grandchildren?
2. How useful is activity clustering for social program planning, educational program planning, and health promotion planning?
3. How do lineage connections and frequency of present and past interactions affect choice of partner for grandparent, older grandchild interactions?
4. How does the grandparent-older grandchild interaction affect the other family members?

In addition to raising these questions for further research, this study suggests that it may also be beneficial to pilot some grandparent-older grandchild programs.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Posters for Participant Selection

Poster for Participant Selection:



Hear Ye Hear Ye!!

NEEDED !!!

**GRANDPARENTS WILLING TO
SPEND TIME WITH THEIR TEEN
GRANDCHILDREN.**

**IF YOU ARE AN ACTIVE GRANDPARENT WHO
ENJOYS INTERACTING WITH YOUR
GRANDCHILDREN, YOU MAY BE INTERESTED IN
VOLUNTEERING TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS
QUALITATIVE RESEARCH. THE PURPOSE OF
THE STUDY IS SIMPLY TO LOOK AT WHAT
OCCURS WHEN THE TWO GENERATIONS
SPEND TIME TOGETHER. FOR FURTHER
INFORMATION, PLEASE CONTACT :
SHIRLEY CHRISTO 416-793-0156.**

Poster for Participant Selection:



Hear Ye Hear Ye !!

NEEDED !!

**TEEN GRANDCHILDREN
WILLING TO SPEND TIME WITH
THEIR GRANDPARENTS.**

**IF YOU ARE AN ACTIVE TEENAGER WHO
ENJOYS INTERACTING WITH YOUR
GRANDPARENTS, YOU MAY BE INTERESTED IN
VOLUNTEERING TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS
QUALITATIVE RESEARCH. THE PURPOSE OF
THE STUDY IS SIMPLY TO LOOK AT WHAT
OCCURS WHEN THE TWO GENERATIONS
SPEND TIME TOGETHER. FOR FURTHER
INFORMATION PLEASE CONTACT:
SHIRLEY CHRISTO 416-793-0156.**

APPENDIX B: Instructions For Research Participants

Instructions For Research Participants

Please note that this study will not be difficult to participate in. Once you have agreed to participate, the following things will be expected of you:

- (1) - You will be asked to meet with the researcher to discuss in an audiotaped interview how you feel about spending time with your grandparent/grandchild.
- (2) - You will meet with your research partner (grandparent/grandchild) in order to decide which activity(s) you would prefer to attend together and for how long.
- (3) - If an agenda has not already been established for you, you should spend some time with your research partner deciding an agenda for your shared time together.
- (4) - Visit the chosen setting and carry out the agenda.
- (5) - At the end of each day, sit down together with your partner and audiotape your answers to the following general questions:

How do I feel about today's events?

What did we do together?

Did I learn anything (in general, about myself, about my partner)?

Would I do it again?

What would I do differently if I were to do it again?

(6) - Meet with the researcher after your experiences together and discuss in an audiotaped interview whether she has perceived your experiences accurately.

I thank you in advance for your participation, and I look forward to sharing the results with you later in the year.

APPENDIX C: Consent for Participants

CONSENT

I, _____, confirm that Shirley Christo, BScN., MHSc., has discussed her research project with me. I am aware that it is being done as a partial requirement for completion of her MEd. and I have read the accompanying page explaining what is expected of me as a participant in this study. I understand that she will be exploring what occurs when seniors and their grandchildren share experiences together.

I understand that:

1. - no harm can come to me for participating in this study.
2. - all information collected about me through, tapes, or interviews, will be kept confidential and I will not be identified in any way.
3. - my participation in this study, is voluntary and my refusal to participate will not be held against me.
4. - there may be expenses incurred, for activities that I choose to participate in with my research partner, for which I will not be reimbursed.

I agree to participate in this study with:

_____ my _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____.

Guardian(s): _____

Researcher: _____